

THE FIRST

Book of Tullies Offices

translated Grammati-

cally, and also according

to the propriety of our

English Tongue;

For the more speedy and certain

attaining of the singular Learning con-

tained in the same, to further to

a pure Latin stile, and to expresse

the mind more easily, both

in English & Latine.

Done chiefly for the good of Schools;

to be vsed according to the directions in the

Admonition to the Reader, and more

fully in Ludus lit. or Gram-

mar-Schoole.

At LONDON,

Printed by H. Lownes, for Thomas Man,

dwelling in Pater-noster-rowe, at the

Signe of the Talbot.

1616.

THE FIRST

Book of Tables

translated

and also according

to the property of our

English Tongue

For the more speedy and certain

learning of the English Language

printed in the year 1633



Done chiefly for the good of Schools

and also according to the method in the

University of Oxford

fully made use of in the

English School

Printed by H. Linsell for the Author

at the Sign of the Table

1633



TO THE RIGHT
worshipfull Maister Doctor
Hunton, D. of Physicke, and his
most reuerend and worthily respec-
ted friend, I. B. wisheth all true
happinesse in Christ both
now and euermore.



Onsidering with my selfe
(right worshipfull) to who
I should dedicate this small
part of my schoole indea-
uours, I could bethink me
of none to whom it might be more iust-
ly due, then to you; sith I owe vnto you
euen mine owne selfe and all my later
trauels: for I must needes acknowledge
your vnfained loue and tender care for
mee, to the glorie and praise of our blef-
sed God, and to bind my selfe still more
vnto

The Epistle

vnto his heauenly Maiestie, and euen vnto your owne selfe to testifie my thankfulnesse, all my daies. Because, besides all your regarde which you haue euer had of my health, when as through long affliction by sundrie most heauie trials, and by ouer-toyling both minde and bodie (in lacke of all meet helps and means, to performe that seruice which I had entered into, and so much desired for the good both of Church and common weale) my life was become most miserable and a burden vnto me, by changing the best humors of my bodie into lumpish melancholy, it pleased him, to make you his principall instrument for my recouerie and restoring. Whereby in stead of that heauie dampishnesse, by which I was made vnfit for my calling, and almost vitterly ouerwhelmed, as you well knowe; that our holy and most gracious God, to bee praised for euermore, hath caused me to finde euen heauen vpon the earth, so that I can againe reioice

in

Dedicatorie.

in all my labours, and especially in my calling: by which, my ioy in him, is vnto mee indeed a continuall feast, yea my strength and health; and such a portion, as in regard whereof I can account basely of all earthly things. And secondly, for that loue and fauour, which you haue continually shewed to all my poore labours, so encouraging me therein. And moreouer also, for that you are able to iudge of the hope of this Worke, for the perpetuall benefit of Schooles, by the more speedie and certaine attayning both of the singular matter and latine contained in that booke of *Offices*, which I haue thus farre proceeded in. For the book it self I cannot but admire, according to the high commendations giuen vnto it, by the most learned: who preferre it before all others of this kind, which haue beene written by the light of nature alone; for that it doth so diuinely point out the true pathway to all vertue, and guide vnto a right course of life, as if
it

The Epistle

it had receiued direction from the sacred Scriptures themselves. So that it is graced, as a mirror of wisdom, a fortress of Iustice, the teacher of valour, a schoole of temperance, the iewel of civillnesse, containing in so fewe leaves, so many excellent instructions, as no other the like. Whence, *Erasmus* wonders that a heathen man should write so much to heathens; admireth the equitie in it, holinesse, veritie, sinceritie, agreement of euerie part with right nature & amongst themselves, as also the conscience he requireth especially in governours, the amiable beautie of vertue which he setteth before the faces of all. Yea, he thinketh it strange, that he should write so religiously and so like a Diuine, of helping and releuing one another, of procuring and maintaining friendship, of the contempt of those vanities which the common sort of Christians doe so doate after. And finally iudgeth it most worshie and meet for schoole-masters to teach

Dedicatorie.

teach, and scholars to learne; and not
only for all young men, but euen olde
men themselves againe and againe both
to vse and peruse. Inregard of all which,
so many learned men haue not disdained
to beare it in their bosome, lay it vnder
their pillows, make it their companion,
which way soeuer they haue gone. Now
what I haue done heerein, that all who
are truly studious of good learning,
though children in yeares, may more ca-
sily beholde and bee more fully parta-
kers of these rich treasures, for which
the Learned haue had this Worke in so
high estimation, I referre to all who are
truly learned to iudge, and chiefly to
your selfe who are better acquainted
with my indeiours in it. For my self, my
hope is, that whereas it hath formerly
seemed to sundrie so obscure, as that they
haue read with very little fruit or delight,
because they haue not vnderstood it;
that they may now at the first viewe,
liuelily beholde the true lustre thereof,
and

The Epistle

and receiue most sweete content, to
cause them euer to delight therein.
Which if the Lord shall vouchsafe, as I
vndoubtedly trust, I shall receiue the end
of my desires, and bee encouraged to
proceede to the accomplishing of the
rest of it, and euer to be imployed for the
common good, vntill I haue spent
my last breath for the same. In
which vnfained desire, I
rest & euer shall

Yours in the Lord

most beholden,

John Brinsley.



An Admonition to the louing Reader.



Vnderstand, first, the matter contained in each Chapter, by reading ouer and obseruing wel the inmost columnne. Then, try so farre as need is, for the true construing and resolving thereof out of the Author it selfe, both for Grammar and phrase; and also to read it into a good english stile, by the helpe of the second columnne and the margents. And lastly (which is the principall) practice, out of the same (viz. the second columnne and margents alone) to read daily some part of it, out of the translation into the Latine of the Author, studying it out of the English alone; trying by it, and a little help of the latine booke, where need requireth (as I haue ad-
nised

An Admonition

vised chiefly for Corderius) how neer you can come to expresse Tully liuely for Latine, phrase, composition, and whatsoeuer elegancy besides. After each sentence, reading the Author, to see how neer you came, marking where you failed, with the reason of it. So in a Schoole, cause euery one in a Forme, or so many as you would haue to practice this together, thus first to construe extempore daily euery one a peece out of the Latine bookes alone, without the English; onely one of them by the English to aske and direct, where any one failes. Afterwards, or euery other day, let euery one read his peece out of the English book alone, none hauing any Latin book, but onely some one to be in the place of the Master, to obserue, and where they faile to direct; first, by asking of him who readeth, and then of others, after helping; so posing for sense phrase, latinisme, both out of the Latin, & English, as is directed in the Grammar-schoole. And then, I hope, you will in time scale with mee upon experience, whatsoeuer

to the Reader.

ever I have written, concerning the benefit of such Grammaticall translations in this behalfe. For the worth of the books of Offices themselves, I referre thee to the Epistle Dedicatory. For the slips which thou shalt meete with herein, which I know to be very many (as in all the rest of my labours, chiefly through want of meete helps of bookes and conference, and also time to peruse in the midst of my continuall imployments in my Calling, vvherein I am still labouring as God vouchsafes mercy, not only for the private, but for thine and the publicke good, as also thorow my absence from the Presse) let me intreat thy curteous aduice and direction to the Printer, that hee may conuey it vnto me, as some louingly haue done: future Editions may reforme it. So shall I be both more encouraged, and furthered for performing my promise in finishing my intended labour, for the generall good; and the blessing thereof shall returne into thine owne bosome. And thus desiring

An Admonition &c.

desiring ever the assistance of thy prayer
for mee, to his heavenly Maiesty & whoso
all my trauels are, I commend thee to his
grace; and rest

Thine wherein his
goodnes shall inable

I. B.

The letter q, prefixt to words, directs to
the Grammar order, in such places when
the Grammar order would not stand well
with our tongue; the Sterre*, so varied
of phrase, the better to expresse the matter.



The first Booke of *Marcus Tullius Cice-*

ro, *q* concerning Duties,
 to *Marcus* [his]
 Sonne.

q [Written or de-
 dicated] to [his]
 sonne *Marcus*, of
 Duties.

CHAPTER I.

The * *Argument* [of this first chapter]
q by Desiderius Erasmus
 of Roterdame.

* summe.
q [gathered or set
 downe] by D.
Erasmus.
 * *Cicero*, his sonne.
 * giue not himselfe
 wholly vnto.



Tvilly] exhorteth * his
 sonne *Cicero* by his own
 exāple, that he. * addict
 not himself to any *q* one
 studie alone; but that hee *q* ioyne
 Greeke with Latine, & *q* eloquence

* simple studie [or
 any one kinde of
 learning].
q ioyne together
 Greek [studies]
 with Latin [stu-
 dies]. *q* the ver-
 of tues of speech.

q science or skill.

* And then,

* to the intent
that he may make
him &c

* to make it bet-
ter. q chiefly by
two names or co-
mmendations lay-
eth open most
largely [or most
wide] to every re-
spect [viz, part or
purpose] of life.

q this one is com-
mon to all philo-
sophers amongst
themselues.

q he witnesseth
himselfe to follow
the Stoicks chiefly
in this disputatiō.

q appointed the
very best, the end
or limit of &c.

q vnto which

¶ end

* election or difference. q ouerturned also. * the very nature
of dutie.

of speech with the q knowledge of
Philosophie. * Afterward q to the
end to make him * more attentue,
hee commendeth [vnto him] this
part of Philosophie, which is con-
cerning Duties; q for two causes
specially; either for that the vse of
it, q extendeth it selfe most largely
to euery condition of life: or be-
cause q this alone is common to all
sorts of Philosophers. Lastly, q hee
affirmeth, that he chiefly followeth
the Stoicks in this discourse, because
these haue q determined the very
best of the end of goodnes, q where-
unto al Duties are referred: where-
as *Epicurus* measuring the chiefe
good by pleasure, and *Aristo*, *Pyr-
rho* and *Herillus* taking away [all]
* choyce of things, haue q subuer-
ted * euen the nature of dutie.

This first chapter containeth the *exordium* or entrance into the whole worke: and in it Tully directing all his speech to his sonne,

I. Putteth him in minde what knowledge in Philosophy might be lookt for at his hands; to wit, that he should be fully furnished with the groundes thereof.

1. Because of the excellencie of his reader, *viz* Cratippus.

2. In regard of the time wherein he had heard him, *viz* a whole year.

3. For the place where, *viz* at Athens a famous Vniuersitie. And that becaule as his reader might store him with precepts, so the place with examples;

Hee exhorts him to ioyne the study of Greeke and Latine to

1 * **A**lthough * Albeit (sonne *Marc.*) it *q* cōcerneth you, *q* hauing heard Cratippus

now a year, & that at *q* Athens, *q* to be thoroughly furnished with * precepts & institutiōs of Philosophy, for that *q* singular *q* chiefe.

authoritie both of your * teacher & *q* reader Cratippus,

also of the City; *viz* your teacher, *q* the one whereof *q* of which the one, may *q* store you *q* increase or furnish you, *q* the other *viz* the Citie

q the other with examples; 2 yet as I myself *q* haue ioynd together.

euer for my benefit ioynd Latine studies with greek

neither haue I dōe that only in Philosophy, but also in

pleading.

B 2 the

Tullies Offices

¶ exercise of spea- the practice of o- gether;
 king [eloquently] ratory; so I think 1. For that he himself
 or practice of you ought to doe had done so, both in
 pleading. the studie of Philoso-
 ¶ I think the same the same, that you phy and Rhetorick;
 to be don of you. may be * alike in 2. To the end that he
 * equall. the * faculty of might bee equall in
 * skill or know- both kindes of both tongues, in
 ledge. speech: ¶ vnto both Greeke and La-
 ¶ to which thing time;
 indeed. which purpose we 3. That thereby hee
 ¶ do seeme or are (as wee ¶ sup- might benefit his
 thought. pose) have broght countriemen; not on-
 * furtherance. great * helpe to ly the ruder sort, but
 ¶ men. our ¶ countrie- as he himselfe had
 ¶ rude or vn- men; that not on- done before. both for
 full of Greeke let- ly [they who are] speech & iudgement,
 ters or learning. ¶ ignorant of the
 ¶ ignorant of the Greeke tongue,
 but also the lear-
 ned, may thinke
 * theselues to haue
 attained somewhat,
 ¶ both to further
 their eloquence,
 & also their iudg-
 ments. 3 Where-³ Hee willeth him that
 fore you shall (though hee was a
 learne indeede, of hearer of Cratippus
 the ¶ chiefe of the the chiefe Philosopher

¶ prince.

of that age, and doe Philosophers of
 encourage him there- this * age: & you * time.
 unto that hee should shall learn as long
 beare him as long as as you * will; yea & * please.
 he would, & as he per- you *q* ought to be *q* shall owe to will
 ceived himself to pro- willing, so long as or be willing.
 fit by him, yet) hee it shall not repent * increate in lear-
 would reade his wri- you how much ning.
 ngs alio: and that you * profit. But *q* you reading
 3. Because his wri- yet *q* reading *q* my *q* our works [ot,
 tings did not much writings.]
 differ from the philo- books * not much * greatly.
 sophy of the Peripate- dissenting frō the *q* disagreeing.
 ticks, which his sonne * Peripateticks (be- * Philosophers of
 followed, (sith they Aristotle's sect.
 desired to be both fol- cause * wee desire * we both desire.
 lowers of Socrates & to be both * So- * followers both
 Plato) though con- cratians and Pla- of Socrates and
 cerning that sect, hee Plato, who was A-
 leaue him to his owne ristotles school-
 iudgement. master and Socra-
 tes schollar.

the matters them- *q* do as you think
 selues. (For *q* I do good.
 not hinder you) *q* I hinder no-
 thing.

q but surely you *q* but you.

shall make [your]

Latine *q* tongue *q* speech.
 more *q* flowing *q* full or copious.
 2. For that reading his by reading *q* my *q* our writings.

B3. workes

Tullies Offices

q verily.
 q to be thought
 [or deemed]
 spoken proudly or
 vauntingly.

q granting [or
 giuing place] to
 many the skill of
 playing the Philo-
 sopher.

* take vpon me
 that.

q is the property
 of an Oratour.

* fitly or properly.

q finely.

q consumed.
 [my] age.

q I seeme to
 challenge it as by
 mine own right,
 in some manner.

* wherefore.

q I Exhort you
 verie greatly.

q my Cicero.

q studiously or
 diligently.

workes. Neyther

q yet wold I haue

this q thought to

bee spoken arro-

gantly [of me] for

q yeelding vnto

many the know-

ledge of Philoso-

phy, if I * assume

that vnto my self,

which q properly

belongeth vnto

an Oratour, [that

is] to speak * apt-

ly, distinctly & e-

loquēly, because

I haue q spēt [my]

time in that study,

q I seeme after a

sort to challenge

it [as] by my own

right. ¶ For w^{ch}

cause (sonne Cice-

ro) q I earnestly

exhort you, that

you reade q care-

fully not only my

Ora-

writings hee should
 make his latine tong
 more copious.

3. Becaulc howsoeuer
 hee yeelded vnto o-
 thers the superioritie
 in the knowledge of
 Philosophy, yet bee
 challenged vnto him-
 selte a preheminence
 amongst Oratours;
 for that hee had spent
 his whole time therein.

To this purpose hee
 perswades him fur-
 ther, to the diligen-
 reading not onely o
 his orations, but al

so of these his three orations, but also
 bookes of Offices, these bookes *q* have equalized
 which were now equal [which I haue themſelues almoſt
 in number to thoſe] of Philoſo- or well-neere vnto
 three volumes of Ora- writ] of Philoſo- thoſe. viz. are be-
 tions: and this like- phy, which *q* haue come ſo many as
 wiſe, now almoſt made the other.

themſelues equall
 vnto thoſe: for
 there is a greater
q force of elo-

q power of ſpeech.
q in thoſe [orati-
 ons.]

1. Becauſe though his
 Orations were more
 lofty, hauing more
 power of eloquence
 in them; yet this mid-
 dle kinde of ſtile,
 which he uſeth here in
 his Offices is alſo to
 be regarded.

yet this *q* even &
q middle kinde of
 ſtile is alſo to bee
 * regarded. And
q the rather be-
 cauſe I do not ſee,

q equall of one
 ſort.
q temperate or
 meane, viz. not
 too lofty nor too
 baſe.

that it hath hap-
 pened as yet to a-
 ny of the Greci-
 ans, that the ſame
 man trauelled *q* in
 both thoſe kindes

* adorned or
 practiſed.
q truly I ſee that
 to haue happened
 as yet to none of
 the Grecians
q in either kind

2. for that he obſerued
 that none of the Gre-
 cians had attained
 heereunto, to excell
 in both theſe kinds of
 ſtile.

[of ſpeech] & fol-
 lowed both *q* that
 lawyerlike maner
 of pleading, and

q that kinde of
 ſpeaking belong-
 ing to the plea-
 ding place or the
 this bar.

q verily.

q to be thought
[or deemed]

spoken proudly or
vauntingly.

q granting [or
giuing place] to
many the skill of
playing the Philo-
sopher.

* take vpon me
that.

q is the property
of an Oratour.

* fitly or properly.

q finely.

q consumed.
[my] age.

q I seeme to
challenge it as by
mine own right,
in some manner.

* wherefore.

q I Exhort you
verie greatly.

q my Cicero.

q studiously or
diligently.

workes. Neyther

q yet wold I haue

this q thought to

bee spoken arro-

gantly [of me] for

q yeelding vnto

many the know-

ledge of Philoso-

phy, if I * assume

that vnto my self,

which q properly

belongeth vnto

an Oratour, [that

is] to speak * apt-

ly, distinctly & q e-

loquēly, because

I haue q spēt [my]

time in that study,

q I seeme after a

sort to challenge

it [as] by my own

right. ¶ For w^{ch}

cause (sonne Cice-

ro) q I earnestly

exhort you, that

you reade q care-

fully not only my

writings hee should
make his latine tong
more copious.

3. Because howsoeuer

hee yeilded vnto o-

thers the superioritie

in the knowledge of

Philosophy, yet hee

challenged vnto him-

selfe a preheminence

amongst Oratours;

for that hee had spent

his whole time therein.

To this purpose hee
perswades him fur-
ther, to the diligen
reading not onely o
his orations, but ab

so of these his three orations, but also
 bookes of Offices, these bookes *q* have equalized
 which were now equal [which I haue
 in number to those three volumes of Ora-
 tions: and this like-*writ*] of Philoso-
 phy, which *q* haue
 wise, now almost made
 themselves equall
 vnto those: for
 there is a greater
q force of elo-

1. Because though his
 Orations were more
 lofty, hauing more
 power of eloquence
 in them; yet this mid-
 dle kinde of stile,
 which he vseth here in
 his Offices is also to
 be regarded.

2. for that he obserued
 that none of the Gre-
 cians had attained
 heereunto, to excell
 in both these kinds of
 stile.

q power of speech.
q in those [orati-
 ons.]
q equall of one
 sort.
q temperate or
 meane, viz. not
 too lofty nor too
 base.
** adorned or
 practised.*
q truly I see that
 to haue happened
 as yet to none of
 the Grecians
q in either kind
q that kinde of
 speaking belong-
 ing to the plea-
 ding place or the
 this bar.

that it hath hap-
 pened as yet to a-
 ny of the Greci-
 ans, that the same
 man trauelled *q* in
 both those kindes
 [of speech] & fol-
 lowed both *q* that
 lawyerlike maner
 of pleading, and
 this bar.

q quiet.

q disputing or reasoning.

q had or reckoned.

* a sharp disputant.

q an orator smally [or nothing] vehement.

* pleasant.

* Theophrastus his scholar.

q let it be the iudgement of others.

q I truly do iudge also Plato to haue been able to speak most grauely and most copiously, if he would haue handled [or followed] that law.

this q milde kinde of q discoursing:

except peradventure

Demetrius Phalerius may be

q accounted in this nūber; [who was indeede] *

subtile disputer,

q but no great Orator, yet * sweet,

that you may

knowe [him to

haue been] * the

scholar of *Theophrastus*.

But how

much vvee haue

profited in both

[kinds] q let o-

thers iudge: cer-

tainely wee haue

followed both.

q And I think ve-

rely, that *Pla.* also

(if he would haue

practiced that

Lawyerlike kinde

of

Except peradventure

Demetrius Phalerius,

who was no great O-

ratour, though a sub-

tile disputer, and yet

of sweete speech, that

he might be knowen

one of *Theophrastus*

scholars.

But for his owne skill

in both kinds, he re-

ferreth it to the iudge

ment of others.

Allso he thinketh that

Plato could haue don

excellētly, if he would

haue followed that

kinde of stile.

of pleading) yerlike kind of
could haue spo- speaking.
ken most grauely

and * most cop- * with great vari-
ously : and q that ety of words.

Demosthe. could q Demosthenes
haue don elegant- to haue been able
ly and finely, if to doe trimly and
he had kept those glitteringly [or
things which hee notably].

learned of *Plato*,

and q would haue q had beene wil-
pronounced the. ling to pronounce
them.

q So I iudge like- q Also I iudge af-
wise of *Aristotle* ter the same man-
and *Isocrates*, q ei- ner.

ther of which be- q both of whom.
ing delighted

with his owne

* studie, despised * course.

the other.

5 But q whereas q when as.

I had * determi- * decreed or ap-
ned to write som- pointed,

what vnto you at

this time, and ma-

ny things hereaf-

ter

And in like maner
Demosthenes, if hee
would haue pronoun-
ced those things
which he had learned
of *Plato*.

So likewise Aristotle
and Isocrates, if they
had not despised one
another, being either
of them too much
conceited in his owne
studie,

5 Hee sheweth why he
purposing to wrate
many things vnto
him, began with these
books of Offices.

q been most wil-
ling.

q to make my en-
trance from that.

q apt.

q weighty, or of
most importance,
or most besee-
ming.

q For whereas ma-
ny things in phi-
losophy both
weightie, & pro-
fitable, are dispu-
ted.

q accurately, or
very curiously
* at large.

q deliuered by
them and giuen
in precepts.

q to lye open [or
reach the furthest]

q common mat-
ters.

* belonging to a
mans selfe, or
some few.

ter, I haue q desi-
red q to beginne
with that especi-
ally, which vvas
both most q fitte
for your age, and
most q graue for
authority; q For

whereas there are
many things in
philosophie both
weightie and pro-
fitable, disputed
of q very exactly
and * copiously
by the Philoso-
phers, those
which haue beene

q deliuered & pre-
scribed by them
concerning Du-
ties, do seeme q to
extend most large

ly. For no part of
[our] life, neither
in q publicke [af-
fares] nor * in pri-
uate

1 For that this worke
was most meete for
them, both for the
age of the one of the,
and the grauity of the
other.

2 Because although
there are many other
things in philosophie
very profitable, yet
none so profitable as
this concerning duty;
nor any that extend
deth it selfe so largely;

Sith no part of our
life can bee without
dutie, in what matters
soeuer, or howsoeuer
we are to deale in pri-
uate or in publicke.

uate, nor [in mat-
ters] * pertaining
to the * pleading
place, nor in * do-
mesticall busines-
ses nor if you doe
gought alone, nei-
ther if you q haue
dealing with ano-
ther, may q bee
without Dutie. Al-

* common pleas
where matters are
pleaded for all
sorts, or the Judg-
ment Hall.

q matters at home
q any thing with
or by your selfe.
q contract [or
make bargaine].
q lack or want.

And moreover for
that all honesty of life
is in regarding dutie,
all dishonesty in the
neglect of it;

so all honesty of
life q doth consist
in * regarding it,
and [all] q disho-
nestie in neglec-
ting it. 3 And in-
deede this questi-
on is comon q to
all the Philoso-
phers. For who is
he, that q giuing
no precepts of
Dutie, dare name
himselfe a Philo-
sopher? 6 But
there are some
q sects

q is set.
* practicing or
exercising it.
q filthines or
thame.

3 Because this questi-
on of Dutie belongs
to all Philosophers,

deede this questi-
on is comon q to
all the Philoso-
phers. For who is
he, that q giuing
no precepts of
Dutie, dare name
himselfe a Philo-
sopher? 6 But
there are some
q sects

q of.

Neither dare any as-
sume the name of a
Philosopher, vnlesse
hee haue giuen some
precepts of Dutie;

q in no precepts
of dutie to begi-
uen, or being
deliuered,

6 Hee giueth him
warning of some sects

q sects

q disciplines [viz.
Sects of Philoso-
phers].

* ouerturne.

q ends [or limits]
of good things
and euill.

q agreeable to

* be very like
himselfe.

q not ouercome
sometimes.

* of his nature.

q loue, vfe or
exercise.

* bounty.

q sects, which of Philosophers
* peruert all duty, peruert al dutie in
hauing determi- ting downe falsely the
ned the q bouids of limits of good and
good & euill. For euill.

hee that so deter- Because he that deter-
mineth the foue- mineth the chief good
raigne good, that to be in any thing but
it hath nothing in virtue, or in that
q conioined with which is agreeable
virtue, and mea- thereunto, cannot be
sureth the same virtuous, nor so much
by his owne com as put any vertue in
modities and not vre, vnlesse hee bee o-
by honestie, it cō- uercome by the
meth to pass, that goodnes of nature.

* consent vnto
himselfe, and be
q not sometimes o-
uercome by the
goodnes * of na-
ture, can neither
q practice friend-
ship, nor iustice,
nor * liberality.

And certainly he Neither hee
can

Iudgeth the chiefe euill to be in any thing but in vice, or that which belongs thereto, or followeth thereupon.

can by no means be a valiant[man]

q who iudgeth q iudging.

griefe to bee the greatest euill, or

temperate q who determineth pleasure to bee the

q determining or letting downe.

chief good: which things, although

they are so q apparent, that the

q in readinesse, or euident.

matter needeth

* no disputation, yet they are * disputed q by vs in

* not further debating.

* debated.

another place.

q of vs.

And moreover hee sheweth, that these Sects can say nothing concerning Dutie;

These q Sects therefore, * if they

q Disciplines.

will bee agreeable to themselves, can

* vnlesse they will dissent from themselves.

say nothing concerning Dutie.

q Neither can any precepts of Dutie

q neither any precepts of duty can be let downe [as] firme, stable, &c.

[which are] * firm, stable, & q agree-

* sure. q conioyned or coupled.

Nor that any can set downe any right precepts of Dutie, but

able

q of them.

q say.

q honesty to bee
most earnestly de-
sired for it selfe.

q that doctrine
[or the right of
giuing precepts]
of dutie, doth pro-
ly belong.
q proper of.

* hissed out of the
schooles.

q should haue,
q right or due.

q disputing.

able to nature, be Nor that any can sen
set downe but ey- downe any right pr
ther q by thē who cepts of dutie, but o
[affirm.] only [ho- ly they who hold v
nesty] [to be desi- tue to be the chiefe
re] or by them good.

who q hold q that
honesty is especi-
ally to be desired
for it selfe. And

therefore q the gi-
uing precepts
thereof, is q pecu-
liar to the Stoicks,
and Academiks,
and Peripateriks,

because the opini-
on of *Aristo*, *Pyr-
rho* and *Herillus*,
hath beene * his-
sed out lōg agoe;
who neuerthelets

q might haue had
their q lawfull li-
berty, of q discour-
sing concerning
Dutie, if they had
left

And therefore th
only the Stoicks, Ac
demiks, and Peripa-
tians canne giue pr
cepts of duty;

for that the opinio
of other Philosopher
as of *Aristo*, *Pyrrho*
and *Herillus*, ha
been hissed out of t
schooles long before

left any choise of
 *things, that ther * matters,
 might q haue bin q be.
 an entrance to the
 finding out of du-
 tie. 7 q We there- q Therefore tru-
 fore at this time, ly wee doe follow
 and in this questi- chiefly the Sto-
 on, doe chiefly ks at this time,
 follow the Stoiks: and in this questi-
 on.
 not as * Interpre- * expounders or
 ters, but as vvec translators.
 are * wont, we will * accustomed.
 draw out of their
 fountaines, - so q shall seem good
 much as q by any by any meanes.
 meanes shall seem q in our iudge-
 good, q accor- ment and arbitre-
 ding to our mind ment [or opini-
 on]
 and iudgement.

7
 Hee therefore profes-
 seih that hee chiefly
 followed the Stoiks
 in these bookes so far
 as hee thought fit, for
 his purpose, to sette
 downe the truth; and
 so drewe out of their
 fountaines, what so e-
 uer seemed necessary
 heerevnto.

Chap.

Chap. 2.

Chap. 2.

q It pleaseth [or
liketh] therefore.
q all my disputati-
on [or the whole
dispute following]
q concerning du-
ty.

* describe or set
downe.

q before.

* wonder.

q to haue beene
omitted of Pane-
tius.

q institution or
booke of giuing
precepts.

q of any.

* taken in hand.

q from reason.

q by an order-
ly course.

q come or pro-
ceede from a de-
finition.

* concerning
which the dis-
course is.

q disputed or in-
treated.

I think it therefore
I meer, sith q all
my discourse shal
bee q of Duty, to
* define q first what
duty is: 2 which
I * maruell q that
Panetius preter-
mitted. 3 For eue-
ry q treatise q cō-
cerning any mat-
ter, which is * vn-
dertaken q accor-
ding to reason,
ought to q begin
with a definition,
that it may be vn-
derstood, what it
is * wherof it is
q discoursed.

In this chapter Tu-
ly first declareth his
purpose to begin with
the definition of Du-
ty, as most meet; for
the whole disputation
is to be of Duty.
2. Reproueth Pane-
tius for omitting it.
3. Teacheth that eue-
ry treatise ought to be-
gin of a definition, to
the end that the whole
discourse may be be-
tter vnderstood.

Chap. 3:

The Argument.

BEcause the
 q name of Du- q word, teame
 ry is not q of one denomination,
 fort, neither could q simple: & of
 be fitly defined q in one kinde onely.
 generall, he exprel- q in the general,
 eth it by a diuision, or according to the
 which q in truth is q being twofold in
 double in word, but q indeed or in ef-
 the same q in sub- fect.
 stance. Hec ma-
 keth affor two kinds
 of Duties, q accor- q of.
 ding to the q opini- q sentence.
 on of the Stoicks.
 * The one, which * The one kind.
 they call a perfect
 dutie, and is ioynd
 with the end of
 goodnesse, neither
 doth it q appertaine q agree to or be-
 to any man q but long.
 C only q except or issue
 onely.

q The other is a
middle Duty or
begun.

q taken or done to
to some necessarie
purpose.
q to restore aright.

q is of a perfect
Duty, or a proper-
ty or part of &c.
* to restore, but not
aright.

q [is] of.
* in vnperfect
[Duty].
* tith that.
* as right and ho-
nesty requires.
q but.

only to a wise man.

q The other is of a
middle kinde, or
onely begun, which
is neither good of
it selfe nor euill, but
is q vndertaken for
some vse of life: as
for exāple, q Right-
ly to restore that
which hath beene
committed to our
trust to keepe, q is
a worke of perfect
Dutie: * [onely] to
restore that which
hath been commit-
ted to vs in trust,
q of * an vnperfect;
* whenas no man
saue onely a vwise
man can restore * a-
right, q though e-
uen fooles also may
restore. And Saint
Ambrose thinketh,
those Duties which
are

are *q* performed *q* done.
 according to *q* coun- *q* counsels or ad-
 sell, to be of the for- uice, viz. of our
 mer kinde; *q* those selues, without
 vvhich are done command or in-
 * according to pre- *q* those [duties.]
 cepts, *q* of the lat- * onely according
 ter: as for example, to the commande-
 to *q* husband our ment of others or
 substance well, * ap- *q* [to be] of &c.
 pertaineth to the *q* imploy, govern
q imperfect Dutie; or order
 to bestowe vpon * may belong to.
 the poore *q* to the *q* Duty begun.
 perfect. *q* appertaineth to
 the perfect.

Before hee defines
 Duty, he declareth
 that there are two
 sorts of questions
 concerning it.

One sort of them
 about the end of
 good things:

The other, concer-
 ning precepts of
 Duty for framing
 the whole course of
 life.

* **E**very questi- * All the question.
 on concer-
 ning Dutie, *q* be- *q* is double [or of
 longeth to one of two sorts.]
 these two kinde.
 One kinde is which
 appertainerh to the
 * ende of good * determinat, one
 things: *q* the other of good.
 which * consisteth *q* the other [kinde]
 in precepts; by is. * is placed.
 € 2 which

q the vse of life may
bee confirmed into
all parts.

q Examples of the
former kinde are of
this sort. or there
are such like exam-
ples of, &c.

q and which are of
the same kinde.

q of What Duties
precepts are delive-
red

* the attaining of
the greatest good.

q to belong rather
to the institution
[or ordering] of
the common life.

which q the course
of [mans] life may
be framed for eue-
ry condition there-

of : q Of the for-
mer kinde, there
are such like exam-
ples, as these fol-
lowing.

Whether
all Duties be per-
fect? Whether
one Durie bee not
greater then ano-
ther? q and such as
are of the same

kinde. But q those
Duties whereof
precepts are given,

although they ap-
pertain to * the end
of good, yet that
doth lesse appeare,
because they seeme
rather q to belong

to the framing of
the common kind
of life; concerning
which

And first hee setteth
downe precepts
the former kinde
1. whether all Du-
ties bee perfect, &c.

And in the second
place, hee sheweth
his purpose to han-
dle in this booke
the later sort of the
former question
viz. concerning pre-
cepts of Duty for
ordering and fra-
ming the life of
man.

which *q* we are * to *q* it is to bee expres-
 shew our mindes ^{led of vs.}
 in these boukes. * intreate.

Afterwards he pro-
 poundeth an other
 diuision of Duty, to
 wit, that Duty is ey-
 ther meant, *viz.* of
 a middle nature, or
 else perfect.

q There is moreo- *q* And also there is
 uer another diuisiō another diuision of
 of Dutie. Forthere Duty.

is saide [to bee] a
 certaine * middle * meane.

and a perfect Du-
 tie. I suppose vvee
 may call [that]

the *q* perfect Du- *q* right.

tie which the Gre- *q* but they call this
 cians name *Τόρθα- common office*
να: *q* but this [we *καθῆκον.*

may call] a * mid- * meane or com-
 dle [Dutie] which mon.

they call *καθῆκον.*

And they define

those [Duties] thus:

that they define

that which is right,

to be a perfect Du-

Dutie. But they

say, that * to be a

middle Dutie, *q* for

w^{ch} a probable rea-

son

The perfect hee
 thinketh to be that
 which the Grecians
 call *κατάθεμα;* &
 the middle, that
 which they name
καθῆκον.

Then sheweth how
 they define both of
 them, *viz.* that they
 define the perfect
 Duty to bee a right
 Duty.

The meane to bee
 that, for which a
 probable reason

* that is a middle
 Duty.

q which wherefore
 it is done, &c.

son may bee rendered, wherefore it is done. may bee rendered, why it is done.

Chap. 4.

q way of deliberating [or advising] in chusing things.

What q maner of deliberation [ought to be] in the chaise of things.

q Therefore there is a triple [or threefold] adviseent [or maner of advising] in taking counsell, as it seemeth to Panetius.

q falleth into deliberation, or cometh to be considered of [or to be weighed.]

q sentences.

q **T**He deliberation then of taking counsell is of three sorts, as Panetius thinketh. For first [men] doe doubt, whether that which *q* commeth to be consulted of, bee honest to be done or dishonest. In considering whereof, their mindes are oft distracted into contrarie *q* opini-

Chap. 4.

In this chapter Tullie in the first place setteth downe three questions which are usuall in taking counsell, according to Panetius.

1. whether the matter to be consulted of be honest or dishonest: in which consideration he sheweth that there are many difficulties.

whether it be profitable or no, viz. whether it may further our commodities or pleasures; or more enable vs to helpe our selues and others.

pinions. ¶ Second-ly, they *inquire or consult, vvwhether the thing whereof they take aduice, may farther [them] for the commoditie and pleasantness of life, for q ability and plentie of [all] things, for wealth and power, q where- by they may both helpe themselves & q theirs; all vvwhich deliberation falleth q vnder the consideration of profit.

q And then or in the next place. * search out or aduise.

q riches and store or abundance.

q by which things.

q their friends.

q into the respect.

2. when profit seemeth to fight with honestie; whether is to be chosen.

3 The third kind of doubting is, whenas that thing which seemeth profitable, is thought to * fight with honestie. For whenas

* be contrary to honestie.

Because when our profit draweth vs one way, and honestie

match to it selfe, [and]

* of the other side, [and] * contrarily stie another, or
 q recall. minde come to

honettie, to q call exceedingly dist
 backe againe vnto cted and perplex

it selfe, it commeth
 to passe, that the

* haied to and fro.

q deliberating or
 aduising.

q doubtfull.

* studie.

q thinking or deli-
 berating.

q passe by.

minde is * distrac-
 ted in q deliberati-
 on, and bringeth a
 q perplexed * case
 of q imagination.

2 Whereas, to q o-
 mit any thing in

diuiding, is a very
 great fault, two

things are * preter-
 mitted in this diui-

sion: q for men are
 not onely wont to

deliberate whether

the matter bee ho-
 nest or dishonest;

1 but also q of two
 honest things pro-

pounded, whether
 is the honestest;

2 and also of two
 profitable things

laide

² In the second place
 reproving *Pana.*

omitting something
 in this diuision, he

addeth other
 questions where

men are wont
 deliberate also,

1. Of two honest

things whether
 more honest.

2. of two profit-
 ble things whether

is more profitable

* overslipped.

q for neither are
 wont to deliberate
 onely, &c.

q two honest
 things being pro-
 pounded.

layde before
[vs] whether is
more profitable.

So that hee maketh So *q* that confide- *q* what reason [or
five generall questi- ration, which hee manner of adu-
ons in ech delibera- thought to be three sing] he thought
tion. to be &c.
The two first con- fould, is found
cerning honesty. *q* meete to be diui *q* to owe, or that
The two next con- ded into five parts. it ought.
cerning profit. First, then *q* wee are *q* wee must dispute.
The fifth of com- to intreat of hone-
paring them both stie; but, two man-
together. ner of waies: then
Of the two first hee *q* in like sort of *q* by a like reason,
disputeth in the first booke; of the *q* lastly, of or as many waies.
two next concer- the *q* comparing of *q* afterwards.
ning profit in the *q* comparison of
second; of compa- them.
ring them both in
the third.

Chap. 5.

The Argument.

q In this Chap- *q* Tully doth teach
ter [Tully] accor- in this chapter ac-
ding to the opinion cording to the sen-
of the aucient Aca- tence of &c.
demy

q mention this on-
ly to be to liue blef-
sedly.

q added.
q by which, indu-
strie and vse com-
ming thereunto.
* whereunto.

* first.

* giuen.

q study or earnest
desire.

demy, and of the
Stoicks (who thinke
the chiefe good to
come from Nature,
and doe *q* affirme,
this to be the very
thing to liue blef-
sedly, [*viz.*] to liue
according to Na-
ture) doth teach,
what seedes Nature
hath sown in vs,
and what helps it
hath *q* giuen, wher-
by *q* through dili-
gence and practice
we may attaine to
felicitie, * whither
all things are refer-
red. For, * in the
first place it hath
* put into every li-
uing creature an
q endeavour of de-
fending it selfe;
which is common
to men with beasts
by

by the lawe of Na-
 ture, and it is cal-
 led κατὰ φύσιν
 πρῶτον, *q* that is to *q* that is.
 say, the first accor-
 ding to Nature;
q then followeth an *q* an appetite is fol-
 earnest desire of lowing.
 those things, which
 are *q* furtherers of *q* friendly to safety.
 safetie, [and] *a fly- *an avoiding.
 ing of those which
 are hurtfull. But
 moreouer *q* it hath *q* nature hath added
 giuen to man (be-
 cause hee consists
 not onely of body
 but also of *minde) * soule.
 a * power of reaso- * force or abilitie.
 ning, that hee may
 bee *q* wholly safe; *q* whole or all.
 from whence all
q disciplines, and *q* arts or sciences,
 those moral vertues
 do *q* proceed. *q* goe or come.

It

q mention this on-
ly to be to liue blef-
sedly.

q added.

q by which, indu-
strie and vse com-
ming thereunto.

* whereunto.

* first.

* giuen.

q study or earnest
desire.

demy, and of the
Stoicks (who thinke
the chiefe good to
come from Nature,
and doe q affirme,
this to be the very
thing to liue blef-
sedly, [viz.] to liue
according to Na-
ture) doth teach,
what seedes Nature
hath sown in vs,
and what helps it
hath q giuen, wher-
l' q through dili-
gence and practice
we may attaine to
felicitie, * whither
all things are refer-
red. For, * in the
first place it hath
* put into every li-
uing creature an
q endeouour of de-
fending it selfe;
which is common
to men with beasts
by

by the lawe of Na-
 ture, and it is cal-
 led κατὰ φύσιν
 πρῶτον, *q* that is to *q* that is.
 say, the first accor-
 ding to Nature;
q then followeth an *q* an appetite is fol-
 earnest desire of lowing.
 those things, which
 are *q* furtherers of *q* friendly to safety.
 safetie, [and] * a fly- * an avoiding.
 ing of those which
 are hurtfull. But
 moreouer *q* it hath *q* nature hath added
 giuen to man (be-
 cause hee consists
 not onely of body
 but also of * minde) * soule.
 a * power of reaso- * force or abilitie.
 ning, that hee may
 bee *q* wholly safe; *q* whole or all
 from whence all
q disciplines, and *q* arts or sciences,
 those moral vertues
 do *q* proceed. *q* goe or come.

It

Chap. 5.

IT is giuen to * e-
 uery kinde of living creatures by Nature * from the beginning, * to defend it selfe, life and body, and * to shun those things which seeme hurtfull; and also to seek out & prepare all things whatsoever are necessarie * to living: as, feeding, q dens, and q other things of the same kinde.

2 An q earnest desire also of q coming together for the cause of * procreation is q common to all living creatures, and also a certaine * care of those * things which

In this fifth chapter Tully teacheth first what is common to all living creatures by nature: as namely,
 1. To defend themselves, liues and bodies, to shun what appeareth hurtfull, to follow after that which seemeth good for them.

* in the beginning or first of all
 * each creature should saue it selfe.
 * auoide or shie from.

* to preserue life.
 q as dens or hiding places.
 q other.

q appetite.
 q coniunction, copulation or ingendering.
 * breeding.
 q common thing of all.

* loue.
 * creatures.

2. An earnest desire of going together for procreation, with a care of their young.

In the second place
hee declareth the
speciall difference
betweene man and
beast.

1. That the beast
followeth only that
which is present, &
whereunto it is mo-
ued by sense, little
perceiuing what is
past or to come.

But man carried by
reason, in consider-
ing circumstances
and comparing
things together, fol-
loweth what he ta-
keth best for the
life, and prepareth
things necessarie
for the leading
thereof.

which are *q* bred.

Buth this *q* is the
speciall difference
betweene man and
beast. 1 *q* For that

the beast *q* ben-
deth it self so much
as it is mooued by
sense, vnto that
thing onely which
is at hand, & which
is present, very

little percei-
uing * what is
past or to come:
but man because
he is * partaker of
reason, whereby
he seeth *q* what will
follow, * percei-
ueth the begin-
nings and causes of
things, *q* neither is

ignorant of the
q proceedings of
them, and as it were
q things going be-
fore

q presented or
brought forth.
q doth differ chiefly

q because this.
q applieth.

* that which is past.

* indued with rea-
son or vnderstan-
ding. *q* things that
follow, or conse-
quents or sequels.
* he.

q also he is not ig-
norant.

q progresses.

q foregoings or
forerunners.

q similarities or
lemblances.

q to.

* considereth or
oblerueth.

q to rule or gouern
it.

q to the liuing of it.
q And.

q reconcile or gain.
power.

q both to a fellow-
ship of speech and
a fellowship of life.

q first of all.
q chiefe.

q procreated.

q a company.

fore them, he com-
pareth q things
that are like, and
adioyneeth & knits
together things
to come q vvith
things present,
* seeth easily the
course of [his]
whole life, and pre-
pareth things ne-
cessary q to the lea-
ding thereof.

2 q Moreover the
same Nature doth
q win man to man
by the * force of
reason, to q a soci-
ety both of speech
and of life, & doth
breed q chiefly a
certaine q speciall
loue towards them
which are q begot-
ten; and infor-
ceth that q compa-
nies of men are wil-
ling

2. That men by the
meanes of reason
are more sociable
and desirous to liue
in assemblies toge-
ther, hauing a speci-
al care of their pro-
geny.

And that they are
also more seruicab-

ble one to another
studying to pro-
vide all necessities
for themselves, and
theirs, and so for all
other whom they
loue, and ought to
defend, as their
wiues and children
and all others who
are neere and deare
vnto them.

ling to bee *q* assem-
bled amongst the
selues, and *q* bee al-
so seruiceable vnto
one another: and
for those causes [in-
forceth them] to
studie to provide
those things, which
may *q* furnish them
both *q* for appa-
rell and also for su-
stenance; and that
not for themselves
alone, but for their
q wiues, children
and others, * who
are deare vnto
them, and vvhom
they ought to de-
fend: which care
q doth also stir vp
mens spirits, and
doth make them
q more couragious
to doe their busi-
nesse. 3 Also the
the

q celebrated or ga-
thered by many to-
gether.
q obey themselves.

q minister suffici-
ently.
q to cloathing and
food or liuing.

q wife.
* whom it hath
deare and ought
to defend

Heereby their spi-
rits are stirred vp,
& they are made
more cheerefull to
their businesse.

A third difference

q also doth stir vp
the mindes.
q greater to ma-
nage their affaires.

q similitudes or
lemblances.

q to.

* considereth or
oblerueth.

q to rule or gouern
it.

q to the liuing of it.

q And.

q reconcile or gain.
* power.

q both to a fellow-
ship of speech and
a fellowship of life.

q first of all.

q chiefe.

q procreated.

q a company.

fore them, he com-
pareth q things
that are like, and
adioyneeth & knits
together : things
to come q vvith
things present,
* seeth easily the
course of [his]
whole life, and pre-
pareth things ne-
cessary q to the lea-
ding thereof.

2 q Moreover the
same Nature doth
win man to man
by the * force of
reason, to q a soci-
ety both of speech
and of life, & doth
breed q chiefly a
certaine q speciall
loue towards them
which are q begot-
ten ; and infor-
ceth that q compa-
nies of men are wil-

2. That men by the
meanes of reason
are more sociable
and desirous to liue
in assemblies toge-
ther, hauing a speci-
al care of their pro-
geny.

And that they are
also more seruicab-

ling

be one to another
 studying to pro-
 vide all necessities
 for themselves, and
 theirs, and so for all
 other whom they
 love, and ought to
 defend, as their
 wives and children
 and all others who
 are
 are

ling to bee q assem-
 bled amongst the-
 selves, and q bee al-
 so seruiceable vnto
 one another: and
 for those causes [in-
 forceth them] to
 studie to provide

q celebrated or ga-
 thered by many to-
 gether.
 q obey themselves.

IRREGULAR PAGINATION

send: which care
 q doth also stir vp
 mens spirits, and
 doth make them
 q more couragious
 to doe their busi-
 nesse. 3 Also the
 the

Heereby their spi-
 rits are stirred vp,
 & they are made
 more cheerefull to
 their businesses.
 A third difference

q also doth stir vp
 the mindes.
 q greater to ma-
 nage their affaires.

q similitudes or
lemblances.

q to.

* considereth or
oblerueth.

q to rule or gouern
it.

q to the liuing of it.
q And.

q reconcile or gain.
power.

q both to a fellow-
ship of speech and
a fellowship of life.

q first of all.
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pareth q things
that are like, and
adioyneeth & knits
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to come q vwith
things present,
* seeth easily the
course of [his]
whole life, and pre-
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cessary q to the lea-
ding thereof.

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reason, to q a soci-
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loue towards them
which are q begot-
ten ; and infor-
meth that q compa-
nies of men are wil-

2. That men by the
meanes of reason
are more sociable
and desirous to liue
in assemblies toge-
ther, hauing a speci-
al care of their pro-
geny.

And that they are
also more seruicea-

ling

the one to another
studying to pro-
vide all necessities
for themselves, and
theirs, and so for all
other whom they
love, and ought to
defend, as their
wives and children
and all others who
are neere and deare
vnto them.

ling to bee *q* assem-
bled amongst the
selues, and *q* bee al-
so seruiceable vnto
one another: and
for those causes [in-
forceth them] to
studie to provide
those things, which
may *q* furnish them
both *q* for appa-
rell and also for su-
stenance; and that
not for themselves
alone, but for their
q wives, children
and others, * who
are deare vnto
them, and vvhom
they ought to de-
fend: which care
q doth also stir vp
mens spirits, and
doth make them
q more couragious
to doe their busi-
nesse. 3 Also the
the

q celebrated or ga-
thered by many to-
gether.
q obey themselves.

q minister suffici-
ently.
q to cloathing and
food or living.

q wife.
* whom it hath
deare and ought
to defend

Heereby their spi-
rits are stirred vp,
& they are made
more cheerefull to
their businesses.
A third difference

q also doth stir vp
the mindes.
q greater to ma-
nage their affaires.

* is a speciall or
chiefe property of
man.

q of man.

* void of necessarie

q couet.

* somewhat.

Al. cogitation.

* secret.

* wonderous.

* to a blessed life.

q of which it is ga-
thered, that what is
true. &c.

* pure.

q that to be.

q There is adioy-
ned to this.

q earnest longing
for.

the inquiry and is; that man on-
searching out of searcheth out the
the truth * is espe- truth, whence he
cially proper q vn- by all meanes de-
to man. There- rous to learne; and
fore when wee are accounteth the
free from necessa- knowledge of all se-
rie businesles and cret and admirable
things necessarie to
a blessed life.

cares, then we q de-
sire to see, heare
and learne * some-
thing; and wee ac-
count the Al know-
ledge of things ei-
ther * hidden or
* admirable [to be]
necessarie * to live
well and blessedly.

q Wherevpon it is The consequent
vnderstood, what heereof.

thing [soever] is
true, simple, and
* sincere, q that is
the fittest to the
nature of man.

4 q There is a cer- 4. That there is in
taine q desire of man a certaine de-
sire of souerain-
tye.

bearing rule and
obey none but
him that governeth
for his benefit.

Soueraintie adioyn-

ned to this q loue

of * seeing the

truth, that a minde

well * informed by

Nature, is willing

to obey no man,

but one q com-

manding or teach-

ing, or q gover-

ning iustly and law-

fully q for [his]

commoditie sake:

whereof * appea-

reth [that] great-

nesse of courage

and the contempt

of q worldly vani-

ties. s Neither

indeede is * this a

small * power of

Nature & Reason,

that this one living

creature doth per-

ceiue what Order

is, what q is seem-

ly in deedes and in

D words,

q couetous desire,

* espying or fin-

ding out,

* framed of nature.

q [a man]

q instructing.

q commanding.

q for the cause of

[his] commoditie,

wherein standeth,

* ariseth.

q humane things,

* that.

* force.

q becommeth,

Hence springeth in
man that greatness
of courage & con-
tempt of humane
things.

A fift difference
is, that man onely
obserueth order
treasure and com-
linesse in words and
deeds: and taking a

* what measure
[is to be obserued]
indeeds and words.

* beauty, grace.

q conuenience or
agreement.

q similitude or pro-
portion.
q transporting.

q fairenesse or
beautie.

* steadfastness.
q alio to be kept.

q bewareth or ta-
keth heed.
q lest it doe any
thing.
q womanishly.

wordes, * what a
measure is. And
therefore no other
living creature per-
ceiveth the * faire-
nesse, comelinesse
and q proportion
of the partes of
those same things
which are percei-
ued by sight.

Which q resem-
blance, Nature &
Reason q conuey-
ing from the eyes
vnto the minde,
doth think q com-
linesse, * constancy
[and] order q to
bee also obserued,
much more in
counsellis and in-
deedes; and q is
heedfull q that it
doth not any thing
vncomelily or q ef-
eminately; alio that
it

proportion from
the fairenesse of
things that are seen
it coucieth it to the
minde for framing
all speeches and ac-
tions accordingly
that it do all things
comelily, no thing
vncomelily.

it q nekker do not q do not nor thinke

* thinke any thing any thing.

* wantonly, both * imagine.

in all opinions q or q and.

deedes. Of which things, that q ho- q honest thing.

nestie which vvee seeke is * forged * framed.

and made: which although it be not q honoured, yet q made noble.

ble: * for wee say q que for enim.

truly, though it be praised of no man, yet q it is prayse- q it to be laudable.

worthie by Nature. q You see doubt- q you see indeed.

lesse (son Marke)

the very forme

and as it were the

face of honestie:

which if it could be

beholden with the

eyes, it would stirre

vp (as Plato saith)

q a marueles loue q admirable loues.

D 2 of

Hence ariseth that
honesty which is
heere sought out:
which though it
were not seene nor
praised of any, yet
is praiseworthy by
nature.

And this bee teach-
eth to bee the verie
forme of honestie,
which seene with
the eyes would stir
vp in vs a marue-
lous loue of vertue.

Chap. 6.

The Argument.

Of the foure
* Vertues, from
whence all the Du-
ties *q* of the com-
mon course of life
doe *q* spring: [as]
wisdom, iustice,
q valour and tem-
perance, and of
the matter of euery
one of them.

* chiefe or cardi-
nall vertues.

q of the common
life, or belonging
to life.

q flowe abroad or
proceede.

q fortitude.

q All which is ho-
nest.

* euery part or du-
tie of honesty.

q ariseth out of som
[part] of the foure
parts.

* branches or heads
q occupied or con-
tinent.

q full perceiuing or

But *q* * whatso-
euer thing is
honest, *q* springeth
out of some one
of [these] foure
* fountaines. I For
it is *q* exercised
either in the *q* wise
per-

In this sixth cha-
pter Tullie teaches
that there are foure
chiefe and cardi-

vertues, out of
which all other du-
ties do proceede: Wi-
sdom, Prudence, Iu-
stice, Fortitude
Temperance.

Of euery of which
he first setteth downe
the definition, then
the subjects about

which they are con-
uerfant.

1. As, that prudēce
is a vertue, exercised
in spying out the
truth, & in cunning.

2. Iustice, is in pre-
seruing the societie
of men, and giuing
euerie one their
owne.

3. Fortitude, in the
greatnesse of an in-
uincible courage.

4. Temperance, in
keeping order and
measure in all spee-
ches and actions.

perceiuing of the
truth and *q* skilful-
nesse : or in pre-
seruing the * soci-
ety of men, and gi-
uing to * euerie one
that which is his
owne; and in the
q faithfull keeping
of contracts; or in
the *q* greatnesse &
power of a *q* haury
& inuincible cou-
rage; or else in the
order and mea-
sure of all things
which are done
q & spoken, *q* wher-
in consisteth * mo-
destie and tempe-
rance. 2. Which
fower although
they be *q* wrapped
and * intangled to-
gether amongst
themselves, yet
q certaine severall

insight, or searching
out.

q cunning or po-
licie.

* fellowship.

* euerie bodie his
right.

q faithfulnessse of
things contracted;
viz faithfull dea-
ling in all maner of
couenants.

q strength or worth
q high and incon-
querable minde.

q and which are
spoken.

q in which is in.

* moderation or
discretion.

q tied or linked, knit
* folden one within
another.

q certaine kindes

* Spring or proceed.

q is in, viz. issueth
out.

q inuention.

q office or work.

q most of all or e-
specially.

q he that can.

q expresse or render

q to be reputed
worthily.

* is the subject
thereof.

kindes of Duties Secondly, he shew-
eth how certaine so-
uerall duties is-
sue out of each of
these: as, out of pru-
dence the finding
out of the truth.
* doe growe out of
euery one of them:
as, out of that part
which was descri-
bed first, wherein
wee place wisdom
and prudence,
q there is the sear-
and q finding out
of the truth; and
this is the proper
q function of that
vertue. For as eu-
ery one perceiueth
q most clearly,
what is truest in e-
uery matter, and
q can both see and
q giue a reason
most wittily and
most readily, q he is
wont q to be right-
ly accounted the
most prudent and
wise. 3. Wherefore 3. Thirdly, declar-
eth the subjects of

truth * is subject
to

these vertues; that truth is the subiect, about which prudence is chiefly exercised.

But certaine necessities are the subiects of the other three vertues. As for example;

To get and keepe these things whereby mans life may be maintained, societie & neighbourhood preferred, the excellencie and greatnesse of his courage may be scene, by increasing substance, getting commodities for himselfe and his, & in disposing these humane things; are the subiects about which both Iustice and Fortitude are exercised.

to his, as the matter which it handleth, and in which it is

exercised. But necessities are

* propounded to the other three vertues, to get and

keepe those things, whereby the trade of [mans] life is maintained; that

both the societie of men and neighbourhood may be

preferred, and his excellencie and greatnesse of courage may

* shine abroad, both in increasing of substance, and getting

commodities both to himselfe & his, and also much more in despising these same things.

Allo

q conuersant or occupied.

* assigned or are the subiect.

q in which the action of life is contained.

q coniunction.

* appeare.

q riches or wealth

* his [friends]

steadfastnesse, keeping of a measure.

* added.

g toising or exercising.

g adding or keeping measure.

g handled or medled with.

* keepe.

Also order, & constancy, and moderation, and those things which are like vnto these, are exercised in that kinde, vnto which a certaine action is to be * adioyned, not onely an g occupying of the mind. For we g applying a certaine meane and order to these things which are g practised in [our] life, shall * obserue both honestie and comlineffe.

And fourthly that Temperance is exercised in keeping order, constancie, and moderation: whence doe chiefly proceede both honestie and comlineffe.

Lastly, hee noteth a difference between Prudence and the other three duties. That Prudence is only in the exercise of the minde, the other three are chiefly scene in outward actions.

Chap.

Chap. 7.

Of Prudence the
q chiefe of all ver- *q* princeſſe or prin-
 tues, and what is to cipall.
 be auoided in it, al-
 ſo what is to bee
q imbraced. *q* followed.

In this chapter
 Tullie ſpeaketh of
 Prudence: which
 conſiſteth in the
 knowledge of the
 truth.

1. ſhewing it to be
 the chiefe of all the
 foure vertues, and
 to concerne man-
 kinde eſpecially:

And that, becauſe
 we are all drawne to
 a deſire of know-
 ledge, thinking it
 a goodly thing to
 excell therein, and
 contrarily as diſho-
 neſt to be ignorant
 or deceived.

q **N**OW of the
 foure *q* place
 ces into which wee
 haue diuided the
 nature and *q* power
 of honeſty; that
 firſt which conſi-
 ſteth in the know-
 ledge of the truth,
 doth *q* eſpecially
 concerne *q* man-
 kinde. For *q* wee
 are all drawne and
 led to a deſire of
 knowledge and
q ſkill. *q* Where-
 in wee thinke it a
 goodly &c.

q And or but.
 chiefe heads or
 common places.

q force or ſtrength

q touch chiefly.
q the humane na-
 ture or mans nature
q we all are drawne

q ſcience.
q In which to ex-
 cell we account it,

q passe others.

q But we account it both euill & dishonest, &c.

q an euill thing.

q both naturall.

q vices.

* must be shunned.

q haue not or account not.

* which we knowe not, as though wee knewe them.

q assent vnto them rashly.

q flie from.

q and.

* to desire.

q shall adde.

* leasure.

q matters to bee considered.

q There is another fault.

goodly thing to

q excell. q But

to slippe, to erre,

to bee ignorant,

[and] to de decei-

ued, wee account

it both q euill and

dishonest. In this

kinde [of vertue]

q being both natu-

rall and honest,

two q faults * are

to be auoided: the

one, that we q take

not things * vn-

knownen for know-

en, and q rashly as-

sent vnto them.

Which fault hee

who will q escape

(q as all ought * to

be willing) q must

bestow both * time

and diligence to

the q considering

of matters. q The

other fault is, that

some

2. He teacheth, that in prudence two faults, contrary thereunto, are to be auoided.

1. That wee take not things which wee knowe not, as though wee knew them, and so assent rashly vnto them: and to this end, to bestowe both time & diligence to consider of matters.

The second is, that we bestowe not too

much studie & tra-
uell in matters both
obscure & difficult,
and also needlesse.

And these two faults
being chewed,
that all care and di-
ligence bestowed
in searching out
things honest and
worthy of our
knowledge, shall
deserue due com-
mendation:

As, Caius Sulpitius
is commended for
his knowledge and
paines in Astrolo-
gie, Sextus Pom-
peius in Geometry
many in Logicke
and the Ciuill law,
& so in other good
studies.

some [men] q im-
ploy ouergreat stu-
die, & q too much
trauell q vpon ob-
scure and difficult
matters, and the
q same q not neces-
sarie. Which faults
being q auoided,
q whatsoeuer dili-
gence and care shal
be q spent in things
honest and wor-
thy of knowledge,
q shall be q rightly
commended: q as
in Astrologie, wee
haue heard of Cai-
us Sulpitius; in Ge-
ometry, wee our
selues haue known
Sextus Pompeius,
many in Logicke,
moe in the Ciuill
Lawe; all which
Arts are exercised
in the q searching
out

q confer, or bestow.

q much diligence.
q vpon things ob-
scure, &c. viz. in
darke and hard
matters.

q same [things.]
q nothing necessa-
rie, or needlesse.
q thinned or es-
chewed.
q what, &c.
q put.

q it, the same.
q praised by right.
q as we haue heard
C. Sulpitius [to
haue trauelled
much or been verie
excellent] in Astro-
logie.

q conuersant or oc-
cupied.
q tracing or finding
out.

* through the.

q doing things, or following necessarie businesse.
q all the commendation.

q in doing or performing good duties.

q an intermission is made, or may be.

q many returns are given.

* vnto the former studies.

q and also the toiling.

* ceaseth.

q keepe vs.

q thinking or contemplation.

q labour.

q thought and mouing.

q is conuersant.

out of the truth:

* by the studie whereof, to bee drawen away from

q necessarie imployments, it is against Dutie. For

the q whole praise of vertue doth consist q in action:

from which yet oftentimes q there is an intermission,

& q there are granted q many recourses * vnto studies:

q yea and the stirring of the minde which neuer * resteth, may q continue vs in the studies of q meditatio,

euē without our q trauell. But euen q cogitation and motion of the minde q ought to

be

be

Yet heere giue the

another Caueat, w^{ch}

That by such studies wee suffer not

our selues to bee

drawne away from

more necessarie im-

ployments. And

that because all the

praise of vertue consisteth in action or

performing Duties,

from which yet

there may be inter-

missions and return-

ing to studie.

And also for that the verie meditatio

of the minde is a

kinde of studie;

though without a-

ny great trauell.

Lastly, he concludeth this point with

one other caution.

To wit, that all our

thoughts be employ-
ed eyther in adui-
sing about honest
matters and which
appertain to a blef-
sed life or in the
studies of science
and knowledge.

be occupied either
in *q* taking aduice
q about honest
matters, and per-
taining * to liue
well and blessedly,
or in the studies of
science and know-
ledge. *q* And thus
haue wee spoken
of the first foun-
taine of Dutie.

q consulting.
q concerning ho-
nest things.
* to the good and
blessed life.

q And indeed,

Chap. 8.

Of Iustice.

In this chapter
Tullie setteth out
the nature of Iustice
that by it al humane
society is preferued,
and how it exten-
deth it selfe most
largely of all the o-
ther three vertues.

But of *q* the o-
ther three [vir-
tues] remayning,
q that part exten-
deth it selfe the
farthest, *q* where-
in the society of
men amongst the-
selues and (as it
were)

q three other ver-
tues.
q that reason [or
consideration]
doth extend it selfe
most largely.
q wherein there is
contained the soci-
etic, &c.

q in which.

q splendour.

* whereof.

q are named.

* bountifullnesse.

q to this.

q it is lawfull to call.

* gentlenesse.

q first.

q not any man hurt
any one.

q wrong.

* The next, offe-
condly.

* his owne, peculiar
for himselfe, or pri-
uate.

q But no.

were) the commu-
nity of life is con-
tained; whereof

there are two parts: 2. He sheweth that

Iustice, q wherein there are two parts
is the greatest of it, viz Iustice

q brightnesse of properly to called
vertue; * which wherein is the great

good men q have test glory of vertue,
their name, and and wherof good

* Beneficence ioy- men are specially
ned. q hereunto, named: and Bene-
fidence, which wee

may call bountie or liberality. But the

q principall durie 3. Hee declareth
of Iustice is, that som speciall functi-
ons of Iustice: as

q no man hurt a- That no man hurt
nother, vnlesse [he another but vpon

bee] prouoked by iust cause. That

an q iniurie: * And men vie common
then that bee vie things as common,

common [things] priuat as their owne

as common, and

private [things] as
* his owne. q How-
beit

4. Hee teacheth beereupon, how
by nature all things
were common, but
made priuate by
these meanes fol-
lowing, or the like:
as, By auncientte-
nure or occupation,
by victorie, lawe,
couenant, condi-
on, lot, &c.

beit no things are
priuate by nature,
but either by an-
cient * occupation, * possession or
as [of them] who tenure.
in time past came
into * empty [pla- * waste grounds or
ces:] or by victo- places without in-
rie, as [of them] habitant.
who q got [things] q obtained in warre.
by warre: or by
lawe, couenant,
condition, lot.

Hence also he shew
eth how things
haue had their
names of their ow-
ners, as the field
Arpinas, of the *Ar-*
pinatians, &c.

q Whereupon it is q of which it is don.
come to passe that
the q ground *Ar-* q field called *Ar-*
pinas is * saide to *pinas*.
bee of the *Arpina-* * accounted the
tians, the q *Thuf-* *Arpinatians* [field]
culan [ground] of of the *Thusculan*.
the *Thusculanians*.

Hereupon also hee
gathereth these
rules ;

1. That euerie one
should content him
selfe with his owne
so gotten : and that
whosoever coue-
neth more then his
owne, violateth the

And the * descrip- * setting out.
tion of priuate pos-
sessions is q of this q like.
sorte. q Whereup-
on, * because part * fith that.
of those things
which

q had bin.

* the owne
of euery one.

* enioy.

* chanced.

q to euerie one or
to himselfe.

* befallen him.

* breake.

* of fellowship a-
mongst men.

q of Plato.

* onely.

q que for enims.

* claime.

q our parents

[claime] a part.

* as the Stoicks
blode.

* that all.

which q were com- lawe of humane so-
mon by Nature, cietie.

* is becomene pro-
per to euery one;
let euery one * hold
that, which hath

* befallen q to
each. If any man
will couet greedily
vnto himselfe
more then that, he
shall * violate the
lawe * of humane
societie. But be-

cause (as it is no-
tably written q by
Plato) we are born
not for our selues

* alone, q but our
Countrey doth

* challenge a part
of our birth, q our
parents a parte,
our friends a part,
and (* as it plea-
seth the Stoicks)

* all things which
are

2. That for somuch
as we are not borne
for our selues alone
(as Plato writeth
notably) but parti-
ly for our countrey,
partly for our pa-
rents, partly for our
friends, and ech for
the good of others;
like as all creatures
are bred for the

good of man, so
men especially for
the benefit of men
to profit one ano-
ther; that we should
heerein follow Na-
ture as guide, in cō-
municating our cō-
modities to one a-
nother And so by
exchāging of kind-
nesses, by giuing &
taking, by our cun-
ning, helpe, and ri-
ches to binde all
sorts vnto vs in so-
ciety and good wil.

are bred in the
earth, * to be crea-
ted for the vse of
men, and men to
bee q borne * for
the cause of men,
that q they amongst
themselues may
* profit one ano-
ther: q Herein we
ought to follow
nature[as] q a guide,
and q to bring a-
broad common
commodities, by
exchange of Du-
ties, in giuing and
q taking, [and] to
* binde together
the q society of
man with man,
both by arts and
by trauell, and also
by riches.

* are created.

q begotten.

* for mans cause.

q some may profit
others.

* benefit or helpe

q In this.

* we are bound.

q a leader.

q to bring into the
midst.

q receiuing.

* knit.

q fellowship of men
amongst men.

Chap. 9.

q fidelitie or faith-
full dealing.

q Faithfulnesse
[is] the foundation
of Iustice, from the
Erymology of the
worde.

Al And faithful-
nesse is the founda-
tion of Iustice.

* all agreements.

* more difficult.

q studiously.

Al **B**ut the fou-
ndation of
Iustice is faithful-
nesse: that is to
say, a constancy
and truth of words
and * copenants:
Whereupon, al-
though this per-
adventure shall
seeme * hard to
some man, yet we
may bee bolde to
imitate the Stoicks,
who search out
q diligently from
whence words are
deriued, and vvee
may

In this 9. chapter
Tully 1. teacheth
what is the founda-
tion of all Iustice,
viz. faithfulnessse,
2. He defineth faith-
fulnessse, that it is
constancie & truth
in all our speeches
and agreements.

3. In imitation
of the Stoicks, who
search out diligent-
ly the deriuation of
words, he sheweth
whence *fides* is na-
med, viz. a *fio* &
dico, because that is
performed which
was promised, so to
shewe the nature of
it.

may *q* think *faith- *q* believe.
 fulnesse to be cal- * that faithfulness
 led, because *q* that is named thereof.
 is * done which *q* that which was
 was promised. * performed.

Chap. 10.

q [There are] *q* [Tullie teacheth
 two kindes of in- that there are] two
 stice, as [there are] kindes of, &c.
 * of iustice: and * two kindes of.
 from whence they
q come. *q* may arise or be
 deriued.

Tully in this chap-
 ter teacheth 1. that
 there are two kinds
 of iniustice, as there
 are of iustice.

The one is of such
 as doe iniurie.

The other of such
 who doe not saue
 others from wrong
 when they may.

1 **B**ut there are
 two kindes
 of iniustice. The
 one [* is] of those * belongeth.
 men who *q* offer *q* bring in or doe
 [iniury:] The o- iniurie.
 ther of those who
 doe not * beate
 backe an iniurie * put or driue away
 from them to

E z whom

whom it is offered,
if they be able.

2 For hee that makes an assault vpon any man vniustly, beeing stirred vp either by
 * anger or any
 q passion, hee seeth
 meth as it were
 q to lay violent
 hands vpon his
 fellowe: and hee
 who * defendeth
 not nor resisteth
 iniurie if hee can,
 is as well in fault,
 as if he should forsake [his] parents
 or friends, or countrey.

* choler.
 * perturbation.

q to bring violent
 hands to his fellow.

* doth not defend
 nor hinder iniurie
 to be don to others

q for the cause of
 hurting.

q come or proceed.

q arise from feare:
 whenas hee who
 q in-

3. He declareth the
 greatnesse of these
 faults by comparison. For the first:
 That hee who assaults another vpon
 anger or any like
 passion, doth, as it
 were, lay violent
 handes on his fellowe.

For the second:
 That he that sauerth
 not another from
 wrong if hee can, is
 as well in fault, as if
 hee should forsake
 his parents, friends
 or countrey.

3. He noteth the
 usuall causes of
 wrongs: as of those
 done rashly; anger
 or some sudden passion.

q intendeth to hurt q thinketh.
another, feareth
* lest vnlesse hee * that except.

Others done offset
purpose, arise from
feare of some euill
to themselues vn-
lesse they hurt o-
thers. Or from co-
uetousnesse of get-
ting riches, or a
greedie desire of
pleasures.

do that to another,
himselste q should q shall incur some
be q annoied with damage.
some discōmodity. q affected or tou-
ched.

And [for] the
most part, q ma-
ny men q take
occasion to doe q some.
* wrong, that they q attempt.
* inuic.

may obtaine those
things which they
q do earnestly de- q haue coueted or
sire: in q which earnestly desired.
kind of vice, coue- q which vice.
tousnesse doth

q shew it self most q lie open or ex-
evidently. Riches tend it selfe most
also, are earnestly largely.

Or else
from ambition: as
when men desire
riches, eyther to be
come great therby,
or to pleasure o-
thers.

desired, both for
necessarie vses of
life, and also to en-
ioy pleasures. But
in those in whom
there is q more lof-

q a greater courage
or stomacke.

q belongeth or
hath a respect.
q gratifying.
q riches.

q that any money
or any summe of
money was suffici-
ent, &c.

q with the fruits [or
increase] whereof.

* if he were not a-
ble to maintaine
an armie with
his reueneue.

q nourish.

q Also.

q preparations.

q tricking or ador-
ning.

* finenesse.

* meanes.

q it is effected.

q should be.

tie minde, the co-
ucting of money
q hath an eye vñ-
to q power, and a-
bility of q p easu-
ring [others:] as
of late *M. Crassus*

denied q any sub-
stance to bee suf-
ficient for him,
who desired to be
a Prince in the
common wealth,
q* with whose reue-
nues he could not
q maintaine an ar-
my. q Moreover,

sumptuous q fur-
nitures do delight,
and the q brauery
of life with * ele-
gancie and plenty;
by which * things
q it commeth to
passe, that the de-
sire of money q is
infinite.

As in *M. Cras-*
sus: who thought no
man meet to bee a
prince or chief man
in the common-
weale, vnlesse hee
were able with his
reueneues to main-
taine an armie,

Moreover, he shew-
eth that wrongs are
cōmitted for state-
ly buildings, main-
taining sumptuous
furniture, for gor-
geousnesse & plenty
of all things: for
which ends and the
like, the desire of
money is infinite.

4. He giueth a Ca-
ueat, that the in-
crease of a mans pri-
uate estate is not to
be dispraised, but
only the wronging
of others by it.

4 Neither in-
deed the *q* enlarge-
ment of a mans
private estate hur-
ting no body, is
to bee dispraised:
but iniurie is ever-
more to be *q* avoid-
ded.

q amplifying or in-
crease of the
goods of a mans
family.

q fled or shunned.

5. He teacheth that
the principall cause
of iniustice is am-
bition, when men
fall into a vehement
desire of honour &
glorie, and cheefly
of bearing rule.

This hee prooueth
1. By the testimony
of Ennius; That
there is no holy so-
cietie nor fidelitie
in seeking or ruling
a kingdome.

2. By reason.

Because in things
wherein moe can-
not excell together,
such contentions
fall out, as it is hard
to keep a holy soci-
etic.

5 And *q* most
men are *q* excee-
dingly brought
q to forget iustice,
whenas they *q* fall
into a desire of
rule, *q* honour, or
of glory. For that
which is in Ennius

(*There is no q holy
societie, nor fide-
lity of a kingdome*)

* doth extend it
selfe more largely.

For whatsoeuer is
q of such sort, in
which moe cannot
* excell, * so great
con-

q very many.

q brought especi-
ally.

q that a forgetful-
nesse of Iustice
should take them.

q haue or shall fall.
q honours.

q sacred fellowship.

* reacheth further.

q of that sort.

* be cheefe.

* therein fallerth out
for most part so
great contention.

q is made or hap-
peneth.

contention q com-
meth to passe for
most part therein,
that it is a very
hard thing to keep
a holy societie.

* stormeraiſed of
late by Caius Ce-
ſar, &c.

q peruerſed or tur-
ned topſie turuie.

* the lawes of God
and man.

* for the cauſe of
that principallitie

The * raſhneſſe of
Caius Ceſar decla-

red that of late,
who q ouerturned

* all diuine and
humane lawes,

* for that ſouerain-
tie which hee had
imagined to him-
ſelfe by the error

of [his] q conceit.

And it is a grie-
uous thing in this
kinde, that the de-
ſires of honour,
rule, power, and
glorie, are for the
moſt parte in the

* ſtoſteſt ſtomacks
or braueſt mindes.

* greateſt coura-
ges, and goodlieſt
wits. By how much

This point hee alſo
further illuſtrateth
by the example of
Caius Ceſar, who
had verie lately be-
fore ouerturned all
lawes both of God
and men, for ob-
taining that rule
which hee had for-
merly conceited.

Laſtly, he giueth a-
nother Caueat in
regard heereof,
that ſith theſe ambi-
tious deſires of rule
and honour are for
the moſt part in the
greateſt courages
and goodlieſt wits,
therefore all noble
mindes and excel-
lent wits ſhould
chiefely take heede
more heereof.

more *q* wee are to *q* it is to be looked
take heede, *q* that ^{to.}
wee offend not at *q* lest it be any
all in that kinde. thing offended in
that kinde or be-
halfe.

Chap. 11.

One iniurie [*is*]
lighter then ano-
ther.

In this chapter
1. he teacheth that
the nature & kinde
of the wrong is to
bee wisely conside-
red: whether the
iniurie was don vp-
on som sudden pas-
sion, or mature de-
liberation & aduise.

But *q* it is espe- *q* it verie much
cially to bee concerneth.
considered in all
iniustice, whether
the * iniurie be don * wrong.
with *q* some passi- *q* any perturbation,
on of the minde, or vpon a hotte
which for most blood as it is called.
part is short & *q* for *q* to a time.
the present time,
or else * of purpose * of set purpose or
and aduisedly. For consultation.
those *q* wrongs are *q* things.
* lesse, which * hap- *q* befall.
pen

2. Hee giueth the
reason of the neces-
sity of this conside-

q motion or passion.

* deuised & thought of before.

* prepared for.

* enough hath bin spoken.

q bringing in or offering iniurie.

pen vpon some sodaine q moode, then such as are done * beeing premeditated & * prepared. And thus * haue wee spoken of q doing iniurie. *ration, viz. Because those iniuries which are done vpon any such sudden passion are lighter & to be accounted lesse, then those which are done vpon deliberation & as it were of set purpose.*

Chap. 12.

Here beareth the causes from whence the second kinde of iniustice may arise.

q And.

q moe.

q premitting. to defend one another.

q forsaking.

q they will not.

1 q **M**oreouer Tully declared in this chapter. there are 1. That there may be sundrie causes of the second kinde of iniustice, viz. of omitting [our] defence, and of q leauing [our] Dutie. 2 For either q men are 3. He setteth downe

diuers of those cau-
ses: as, for auoiding
either the ill will of
others, or of their
trauell or charges.
Or else for that
they are hindered
by negligence, sloth
or by their owne
priuate studies or
businesses.

are vnwilling *q* to
vndertake *q* displea-
sure, or trauell, or
q charges: or else
they bee so hinde-
red with negli-
gence, sloth, *q* idle-
nesse, or else by
their owne priuate
studies, or by cer-
taine *q* businesses,
that they suffer
them to bee *for-
saken, whom they
ought *q* to defend.

q to take vpon them
or vndergoe.

q committes or ill
will.

q cost.

q sluggishnesse, ig-
norance or coward
linesse.

q occupations.

* helpelesse.

q to saue harmelesse.

q Therefore we
must looke.

q lest it be not suf-
ficient.

q in Plato concer-
ning the Philoso-
phers.

q [them] to be iust
therefore.

q conuersant or
exercised.

q tracing or search-
ing out of the
truth.

3. He warneth that
men doe not there-
fore think theselues
iust, and that they
haue done their du-
ties (as some philo-
sophers do) because
they are imployed
in the studie of lear-
ning, or for that
they contemne the
world, which most

3. *q* Wee must
therefore take heed,
that wee doe not
thinke, *q* that to
be sufficient, which
is spoken *q* of Pla-
to in behalfe of
the Philosophers;
q that they are
therefore iust, be-
cause they are *q* im-
ployed in *q* finding
out

q depise,

q account for nothing or make no reckning of.

q most part of men
* greedily seeke after,

q cōcerning which.

q to fight with swords, contend or braule,

q offering iniurie.

q letted by a desire
of getting learning

q in truth he thinketh.

q them not about
to come to the com

out the truth, and because they qcon-temne and q set at nought those things which q most men doe * vehemently desire, [&]

q for which they are wont q to be at daggers drawing amongst the elues.

For whilst they attain the one kinde of iustice, that they hurt no man in

q doing of wrong, they fall into the other: for beeing

q hindred by the studie of learning, they forsake [the] whom they ought to defend. There-

fore q hee indeed thinketh, q that they would not enter into the affaires

men so dote vpon, and so leaue the defence of others.

And the giueth the reason hereof; Because heerby, whilst that they auoid the one kinde of iniustice, that they hurt no man, they fall into the other, viz. to forsake them whom they ought to defend.

And that there-vpon they cannot bee drawne to any ser-

of

vice in the cōmon-
weale, but by con-
straint; Whereas of
the contrarie, hee
teacheth, that all
such seruice for the
good of others; e-
specially for the cō-
monwealth, ought
to be voluntary, &
that then onely it is
iust.

After, he rehearseth
some other causes
why men vie to
leauē the defence or
helping of others: as
for sauing their sub-
stance, or vpon some
hatred, grudge or
the like.

And yet, that they
to this end pretend
their own businesse,
or lest they should
seem to doe wrong
to others.

So that heerby they

of the common
weale, q vnlesse
they were compell-
led. But it were
* more equall to
be done q volunta-
rily. For whatso-
euer is q rightly
done, q the same is
thereby iust, if it be
voluntarie. There
be also, who either
for a * desire of
* sauing their sub-
stance, or q for
some hatred to
men, do say, q that
they q looke vnto
their own busines;
lest they q should
seeme to do wrong
to any man: who
whilst they are free
from the one kind
of iniustice, doe
runne into the o-
ther. For they for-
ake

monweale, or to in-
termeddle in.

q but compelled or
inforced, or were
they not compeld.

* more reason that
it should be done.

q with good will,
without constraint,

q well done.

q that same is iust
to, if it be done vo-
luntarily.

* loue.

* looking to their
household affaires.

q by a certaine hate
or some grudge.

q themselves to do,
or to follow.

q may be thought.

* fellowship.

q nothing of study;
nothing of labour,
nothing of sub-
stance.

q Because therefore
after we haue decla-
red the two kindes
of iniustice.

q either kinde.

q to iudge easily.

* loue or flatter our
selues too much.

q it is hard to take
care of other mens
matters.

q Terentian
Chremes.

q thinketh nothing

sake the * society
of life, because
they bestowe q no
studie vpon it, no
labour, nor sub-
stance. q Seeing
then that two kinds
of iniustice being
propounded, wee
haue adioyned the
causes of q both
kindes, and haue
set downe those
things before, in
which iustice is co-
tained, we shalbe a-
ble q easily to iudge
(vnlesse we will ex-

ceedingly * fauour
our selues) what is
the dute of euery
season. For q the
care of other
mens matters is
difficult, although
that q Chremes in
Terence q accoun-
teth

for sake the society
of life, whilst they
will neither bestow
any of their studie,
trauell or substance
for the helping of
others.

By these things
rightly considered,
he teacheth that
men may bee able
easily to iudge, what
duty is required at
euery time and sea-
son; vnlesse they be
too partiall and o-
uer much loue them
selues.

Yet heerin he shew-
eth that it is a verie
hard matter, to take
care of other mens
businesse as wee
ought: howfoeuer
Chremes in Te-
rence thinketh o-

therwise; and after
 gneth the reason
 herof which is this;
 for that wee haue
 more feeling of
 those things which
 happē to our selues,
 then of those which
 befall others: be-
 cause we behold o-
 ther mens estates as
 it were a great way
 off, but our owne
 more neerely.

teth nothing ap- to be strange to
 pertaining to man, him of that which
 to bee * strange to appertaineth to
 him. q Neuerthe- * estranged from,
 lesse, because wee q But yet.
 perceiue and feele
 those things more,
 which happen vn-
 to our selues, q ei- q eyther prosperous
 ther luckily, or vn- or crosse.
 fortunately, then
 those things [wch
 q happen] to o- q befall
 thers, which wee
 beholde, * as it * as ye would say.
 were, a great way
 off; wee iudge o-
 therwise of them,
 then of our selues.
 Wherefore they
 q giue a good pre- q commaunde or
 cept, who forbid teach well.
 to doe any thing,
 which you doubt
 of, whether it bee
 right or wrong.
 For, q the right it q equitie it selfe.
 * shi-

Lastly, for a conclu-
 sion, he commen-
 deth that precept of
 such wise men, as,
 who forbid a man
 to doe any thing
 whereof hee doubt-
 eth, whether it bee
 right or wrong.
 Because the right is
 apparent of it selfe,

* is apparant.
 q by it selfe.
 q declareth.
 q a cogitation of
 iniurie.

* shineth q of it
 selfe: but doubling
 q signifieth q an ima-
 gination of wrong.
 but the verie doub-
 ting intimateth an
 imagination of
 wrong.

Chap. 13.

* that duties are.
 q for circumstances
 q officious.
 q it be departed.

Tully teacheth
 * Duties to bee car-
 ried q in regarde of
 circumstances; and
 that which was q a-
 greable to Dutie, to
 be made against duty
 two waies especially:
 if either q there bee
 a departing from
 profit, or the lesse
 profitable be prefer-
 red before the more
 profitable; moreover
 q Apex is taken for
 the highest top of
 any thing; heere for
 nice quiddities or
 extremities of law.
 to be sometimes ba-
 sides Dutie to stick
 too much in q the
 strict words of law.

But

In this chapter he teacheth, 1. That Dury may bee altered in regard of circumstances; & that w^{ch} seemeth meet for a iust and good man, may become cleane contrarie: as for example;

That it may sometimes bee lawfull & meete, not to restore a thing committed to vs in trust: as also, not to performe a promise made to mad men: & sometimes to deny those things, which other wise truth and faithfull dealing would require.

And then giveth the reason heereof.

Because it is meete that all such matters

But the *time * seasons.
doth fall out, & fall out often.
when those things which seeme most
q meete for a iust man, and him
whom wee call a good man, are
changed & * made
contrarie: q as, not
to restore a thing committed to vs
to keepe; also not
to performe a promise made to a
q mad man; and
sometimes to deny
and not keep those things which appertaine to truth
and vnto fidelity,
may be iust. For
q it is meet q that
they bee referred

to those foundations of iustice,
which

* seasons.
fall out often.
worthy of
become cleane
therwise.
q as, it may be iust,
&c.
q furious,
q it becometh
q [them] to be
referred

* that hurt be done
to no man.

* next,

q it be serued to the
common profit,
viz. that the comon
commoditie be pre-
ferred.

q duty is changed
when as &c.

* remains not.

q the same

q for some pro-
mise may fall out
and couenant.

q that it may be vn-
profitable to be
effected.

* that.

* reported in sto-
ries.

* performed.

which I laid down
in the beginning:

1. First * that no
man be hurt; * and
then that q there
be a respect had to
the common co-
moditie. q When
these things are
changed by the
time, Dutie is chan-
ged, that * it is not
always q alike.

q For there may
fall out some pro-
mise & couenant,
q which to be per-
formed, may bee
vnprofitable ei-
ther to him to
whom it is promi-
sed, or else to him

* who promised
it. For if (as it
* is in the Fables)

Neptune had not
* done that, which

be limited by tho-
two foundations of
iustice layd downe
before; viz.

1. That no man be
hurt. 2. That there
be a respect had to
the generall good,
or commonweale.
And that so, duties
may bee altered ac-
cording to times
and occasions as
these fall out.

2. He sheweth what
promises and coue-
nants a man is not
bound to keepe.
As first, such pro-
mises as the perform-
ance of prooueth
hurtfull eyther to
him to whom they
are promised, or to
him that hath pro-
mised them.

This he illustrateth
by the euill that
came vpon the per-
formance of that

which
he Neptune made to

Theſeus for graun-
ting him three wi-
ſhes. The laſt where-
of was the death of
his owne ſon Hip-
politus, which in
his furie he had de-
ſired: which pro-
miſe being perfor-
med accordingly,
hee fell into moſt
grievous lamenta-
tion.

he had promiſed to
**Theſeus, Theſ.* had
not beene & bereft
of his ſonne Hip-
politus. For of
[his] three *wiſhes
(as it is written)
this was the third,
which & in his fu-
ry hee *wiſhed
*concerning the
death of Hippo-
litus: which beeing
obtaind hee fell
into & moſt grie-
vous lamentation.

* See the marginall
note in the latine
bookes,
& deprived.

* boones.
* he being angry.
* asked.
* for the death.

& the greateſt
mourning.

& neither thoſe pro-
miſes are.
* fulfilled.

& promiſed.

& profit.

Hence hee conclu-
deth, that neyther
ſuch promiſes are to
be kept; nor ſuch as
may more hurt him
who promiſed, the
then they can bene-
fit him to whom
they are promiſed.

Therefore & nei-
ther are thoſe pro-
miſes to bee *kept,
which are vnprofi-
table to them, to
whome you haue
& made them; nor
if they hurt you
more, then they
& benefit him to
whome you haue

* made the promises.

* that the greater losse should be.

* harme.

q put before or preferred to the lesse.

q shall appoint or promise.

* that you will come to be an advocate or counselour to speake for another in his matter which is in hand.

q doe.

* promised.

q it was promised.

q depart.

q complaine himselfe to be left destitute.

* promised. It is

against Dutie, * the

greater * damage

to be q rather ad-

mitted then the

lesse : as, if you

q haue appointed

* yourself to come

as an aduocate to

any man vpon a

present occasion,

and in the meane

time your sonne

shall begin to bee

griuously sicke,

it cannot be against

Dutie, not to q per-

forme that which

you * said ; and he

to whom the q pro-

mise was made,

should more

q swerue from Du-

tie, if hee q should

complaine that he

was disappointed.

Now who seeth

not

And then giueth a reason of both.

For that it is against

Duty, to admit ra-

ther of the greater

euill then the lesse,

and also giueth an

instance of the la-

ter kinde.

As, if an aduocate

should promise his

client that he would

pleade his cause at

such a time; & in the

meane while his

son fals griuously

sicke that he cannot

be for him ; that it

is not against Duty

for the aduocate to

be absēt in this case;

and that the client

should more swerue

from Duty, if hee

should complaine

that he was disap-

pointed, then the

other by his absēce.

So likewise hee teacheth that men are not bound to such promises as they made, enforced by feare, or drawne into by deceipt.

Lastly, hee sheweth that for such promises men are discharged of them either by the court of conscience, or some statute lawe.

not *q* that it is not necessarie to stand to those promises, which *q* a man hath promised, beeing either constrained by feare, or deceived by guile?

* which things indeed, *q* for most parte, *q* are discharged by the * Pretors Court, and many of them by *q* statutes.

q not to be stooode to, or that we are not to stand to, or that it is not meet to &c.

q any man.

* most of which things.

q most of them are freed.

* Chancery or Court of conscience.

q Lawes, or statute-lawes.

Chap. 14.

q In Duties belonging to the lawe, we are not to stick in the *q* wordes [of *q* the lawe] [but] equi-ty is to be looked vnto.

q Equity is to be looked to in law matters.

of *q* Offices or matters.

F3 *q* More-

q Also wrongs are oft times.

q but.

q naughty or wrested misconstruing.

q The chiefest or vtmost, or the vigour of lawe.
q chiefe,
* made.
q worne.

q speech or communication.

q in the common-weale.

q league of peate.
q truce of a hundredth and thirtie daies were couenañted with the enemy

q Moreover, Tully in this chapter declareth, how iniuries oft times are committed by cauilling & craftie q and q subtle interpretation of the lawe.

I Whereupon that [saying] viz. Extreamity of lawe is the q extreamest iniurie, is now * become a q common pro- uerbe in [our] q talke. 2 In which kinde many things are done amisse, euen q in the common-weale mat- ters: as hee who when q truce was taken with the e- mie for a hundredth and thirtie dayes,

the extreamest iniurie.

3. By vsuall experience in the cōmon-wealth, whereof he giueth two notable examples of crafty dealers.

One of which (whose name he committeth) hauing made tūce with the enemy for thirtie dayes, spoiled his

q spo-

land in the night; *q* spoiled his *q* land *q* destroyed, wasted
 pretending that the in the night, be or ouerranne.
 truce was taken on- *q* fields by night.
 ly for the daies, and cause *q* the truce *q* the truce of daies
 not for the nights, was take for daies, and not of nights
 and not for nights. were couchanted

q No nor yet indeed *q* neither truly.
q our country- *q* ours.
 man is to bee *q* ap- *q* allowed of.

prooued of, if it
 bee true, *q* that
Quintus Fabius *q* *Quintus Fabius*
Labeo or any other
 (for I haue no-
 thing but by heare-

The other example (say) beeing *q* ap- *q* giuen.

is of *Quintus Fa-*
bius Labeo: who pointed by the

(as the report wēt) Senate to bee an

being appointed by ** arbitratour q be- * vmpire or daies*

the Senat of Rome, tween the Nolanes man.

for an arbitratour ** and Neapolitanes q to the Nolanes.*

betweene the Na- ** concerning the ples.*

lanes and the Nea- bounds of their ** about.*

politanes about the Land, when hee

setting out of the came to the place,

boundes of their *q* did commune *q* to haue spoken

lands, communed with them both a- with either of them

with both sides a- part, that they feuerally.

part, that they should

Let us, by way of

* greedily.

¶ set backe or retire

* encroche one vpon another.

* which when either of them had done.

¶ on both sides.

* there was a parcell of ground, &c.

set out or bounded.

* yeilded.

should not donor covetously, & that desire any thing cyther side would
* covetously, and rather giue backe
that they would rather goe backe then forward, in regard of peace, and that they might not seeme to incroche vpon one another,
* When ¶ both Which when both
of them had done sides had yeilded
it, * some ground vnto, there was a
was left in the peece of ground
midst. Therefore left in the midst between them : which
hee so ¶ limited bee adjudged from
their bounds, as both to the people
they had * saide, of Rome.

[and] adiudged that which was left in the midst, vnto the people of Rome.

This verely is to deceiue, not to But this dealing he
iudge. Wherefore accounteth to bee
such subtilty is to rather to deceiue
be * auoided in then to arbitrate; &
every ¶ matter. so admonisheth all
to beware of it.

* eschewed.

¶ thing, or case,

There bee also Lastly, he teacheth
certaine Duties to that there are Du-
be

ties of Iustice to be executed vpon the who do such wrōgs and giueth the reason thereof; bee obserued euen towards them, of whom you haue receiued wrong.

That it is not alwaies sufficient that hee who hath done the wrong bee sorie for it, but that hee be punished also I know not whether it be sufficient sometimes; and that for two causes.

For there is a measure both of in reuenge and reuenge and punishment. And [indeed] I know not whether it be sufficient

that hee who began should repent of his iniury, but [that hee be] punished, that hee commit not the like of any like thing.

1. That he may not doe the like after.
2. That others also may bee terrified from doing wrong by his example.

Chap. 15.

Hiberto [Tollie
 hath spoken] of ci-
 uill Iustice: now [he
 discourseth] of war-
 like Duties; And
 maketh two kinds
 of warre, to both of
 which these things
 are common; that
 ¶ they be not under-
 taken but vpon iust
 causes; that they be
 not entred into, but
 ¶ their demaundes
 first made, [nor] vn-
 lesse [they bee] so-
 lemnly proclaimed:
 that they may bee
 rightly atchieued,
 that * vve bee not
 cruell aboue mea-
 sure against them
 who are ouercomen.
 Also that they who
 yeeld

¶ the warres.

¶ matters required
 or challenged, viz.
 the things which
 they who begin,
 would require.

* we vse no cruelty

yeeld themselves bee
receined more car-
teously; that fidel-
ties performed to an
emie enen primar-
ly, not onely in so-
lemn q agreements. q couenants.
But these things are
proper; that we deale
more * mildly with * mercifully or
this kinde of ene- * cartiously.
mies who strine for
soveraigntie; more
seuerely with them
who seek our life.

Tully heer discour-
seth of military du-
ties, and teacheth;
1. That the lawes
of Armes are
chiefly to be obser-
ued in a Common-
weale.

2. That whereas
there are two kinds
of contention, the
one * in debating
matters by reason,
the other by force;

Moreouer q Also.
the laws
of q armes are to q warre.
be q specially kept q preserved in any
in a common weal. wise.
2 For whereas
there are two kinds
of contention, one
by q reasoning, a- q disputing or de-
bating the mat-
ter.
nother by * force, * violence.
and whereas that is
q the

q proper.

q if.

q truly.

q vnderaken.

* to this end and purpose.

q that.

q it may liued [of vs.]

* they ought to be saued.

q bin cruell in war.

q fierce, sauage or outrageous.

q Equies.

q the property of man, this of beaſts; we muſt fly to the later, q when wee cannot vſe the former.

3 Wherefore q in very deed, warres are to bee q taken in hand * for q this, that q we may liue in peace without iniurie.

4 And the victory beeing gotten,

* they are to bee preſerued who haue not q beene cruell nor q vnmercifull in fight: as our anceſtours receiued euen into [their] Citie, the

Thuſculans, q Equians, Volſcians, Sabines, [and] Her- nicks; but they

q vt-

and that the firſt of theſe beeing proper onely to man, the other more belonging to the beaſts; that we are then onely to flie to the later when we cannot preuaile by the former.

3. Sheweth, for for what cauſe warres are vnderaken. *viz.* That men may liue in peace without iniurie.

4. What is to bee done when the victory is gotten, *viz.* That they bee preſerued who haue not carried themſelues cruelly in the fight.

This he illuſtrated by the example of their anceſtors, who receiued ſome ſuch euen into the citie, as the Tuſculanes, Equies, &c. when as they vtterly raled

and spoiled other cities, as Carthage and Numance. And so likewise Corinth; though he thinketh that this was done onely in regard of the situation of it; lest the place might haue encouraged them to new warre. Here he giueth this generall aduice;

q vttely razed *q* tooke away [or spoiled] vttely.
 Carthage and Numance. *q* I would *q* I would not Corinth.
 they had not so razed Corinth:
 but *q* I take it, that *q* I beliene them to
 they chiefly respected the situation opportunity of the
 of the place, lest place especially.
 the very place
 might at any time
q incourage them *q* prouoke them to
 to moue warre. make warre.

That men should alwaies consult for peace, so farre as it may be free from danger of treachery. This he teacheth by the effects, that if they had done this as hee would, they had had a flourishing comonweale, which now was none in respect.

q Certainly in my minde, *q* we ought *q* Truly in my opinion.
 alwaies to aduise *q* we are alwaies to
 for peace, *q* which consult for peace,
 may be free from *q* which shall haue
 feare of treachery. no deceit.
 Wherein *q* if they *q* if it had beene ob-
 would haue yeeld- beyed vnto me, or if
 ded vnto me, wee I had bin obeyed.
 should haue had,
 although not the
q best, yet some
 Common vveale, *q* best [common-
 which now is weale.]
 none

q it is to be prouided for them.

q haue overcome, q then they who their weapons beeing laide away fly to the fidelitie of the Emperours.

q Aries, is an engine called a ram; which serued in warre to beate downe walls, q stricken downe, q in which thing, q so verie greatly, q at or with ours

* vnto their fidelitie.

q overcome, subdued, q of them, viz. of those cities and nations, * after the manner,

none. But whereas q you are to provide for their safety whome you shall subdue by force, q the they especially, who yeelding vp their weapons, fly vnto the mercy of the gouernours, are to bee receiued, although q the ram hath q battered the wall. q In which point, Iustice hath beene q so much regarded q amongst our men, that they who had receiued * to [their] mercy Cities or Nations q conquered in warre, should bee patrones q of the same, * by the custome of [our] ancestors

This he commendeth by the example and custome of their auncestors, that made such conquerours as had receiued to mercy cities or nations, to become patrones of the same.

cestours

6. Hee declareth that the iustice of war, is most holily sette downe in the lawe of the heraldis of the Romanes; & that therein it may be seene what warre is iust, &c. No war but which is moued vpon demands first made, or proclaimed solenly, or bidden by open defiance.

7. He setteth downe certaine other special Duties to be obserued in warre.

1. That no souldier be admitted to fight with the enemy, but being first solemnly sworn.

This he sheweth by the authoritie of Cato, writing to Pompilius the Generall, vnder whom his sonne was a young souldier:

And *q* in *q* truly, to noisge *q* very truth the *q* iustice of warre is *q* equitie. *q* described most *q* set downe. *q* holily in the *q* sincerely. *q* fe- *q* law of the heraldis who were to pro- clame warre. *q* of which, *q* no war to be iust, *q* done. *q* demands heeing *q* things being first made, or which first claymed. *q* is proclaimed be- fore, and *q* bidden by defiance. *Pom.* *q* denounced solemn- ly or published. *pilius q* the General *q* the Emperours, [of the Romanes] kept a Prouince, in whose armie *q* Ca- *q* the sonne of Ca- to, a nouice. *toes* sonne, being a young souldier, *q* did serue. *q* And *q* did play the souldier. *q* whenas it *q* plea- *q* But. *sed* Pompilius to *q* seemed good to. *q* dismisle one *q* send away or dis- *q* band charge.

q legion of soldiers.

q of fighting.

q should suffer.
q carry.

q binde him by a
second oath of war-
fare.

q the former [oath]
being lost, hee
might not fight by
right &c.

q chiefe obseruati-
on they had.

q mouing or manag-
ing their warre.

q an epistle [extant]
q being an olde
man.

q himfelfe to haue
heard.

q band, hee dismis-
fed also Catoes son,
who serued in the
same band. But
whenas hee remay-
ned still in the ar-
my, for the loue
q of the warres.

Cato writ vnto
Pompilius that if he
q suffered him to
q remaine in the
army, hee should
q sweare him againe,
because q he being
discharged of his
former oath, might
not lawfully fight
with the enemies.

So q great regarde
there was in q ma-
king warre. There
is q a Letter of
Marcus Cato q the
elder, to Marcus
his sonne; where-
in he wrote q that
he

That, wherest he
had heard, that hee
had dismissed his
sonne, vpon the oc-
casion of dismissing
that band wher-
in hee was, hee
should not suffer
him to remaine in
the armie much less
to fight, vnlesse hee
sweare him againe;
Because hee being
discharged of his
former oath might
not lawfully fight,
vnlesse hee was
sworne againe.

Also by another
Letter of his, to his
sonne; That wherest

as he heard that he hee had heard,
 being then a sould- q that hee was dis q him to haue bin
 ier in the Persian charged by the dismissed.
 war was discharged Consull, q being a q whenas he was
 by the Consull, hee a souldier.
 should not enter the souldier in Mace-
 battel to fight: be- donia in the Per-
 cause it was not law- sian warre. Hce
 full for him who therfore q warneth q admonisheth him
 was not a souldier, him that he * be- to.
 to fight with the e- ware, that he enter * take heede.
 nemie; signifying not q the battell: q into the battel.
 that none indeede for hee denyeth * that it was lawfull.
 were souldiers but * it to bee lawfull
 those which stood sworne.

[for him] who is
 not * a souldier to * a sworne souldier.
 fight with the ene-
 mie.

A second is, that
 there bee as much
 mildenisse shewed
 to the enemy as
 may be.
 This he proueth by
 the example of their
 auncestours; who
 gaue to the enemy
 the fairest name
 they could: as by
 calling him who
 was properly *perdu-*
ellus, viz. a stubborn
 enemy, *hostis*, mea-
 2 And q certain- q in good truth do
 ly I note q this, obserue.
 that hee q who by q that.
 his proper name q who was a stub-
 was *perduellus* borne enemy by a
 [i.e. st] * a stubborn proper name or by
 enemy, was called a proprietie of
hostis [meaning] speech.
 q a stranger, the * an open enemy.
 mildenisse of the q a souldier or man
 of war.
 G word

q forowfulnesse.

* matter.

* amongst.

* in these words,
Aut, &c.

q gentlenesse or
moderation.

q soft or milde.

* wage warre.

q long continuance

* odious.

q hath.

wordes allwaging ning, a stranger or
the q haynoulness forener, according
of the * thing. For to the auncient cu-
he was called *hostis* stome; so mitiga-
* with our ance- ting the hainoulness
stours, whom now of the thing by the
wee name *peregrinus*, mildenesse of the
[a stranger.] word.

The twelue tables This hee proueth
declare [the same] moreouer by the
* *Aut status dies* lawes of the twelue
cum hoste; and a- tables wherein the
gaine, *Aduersus* obstinate enemy is
hostem eterna au- vsually called *hostis*,
thoritas. intimating a stran-
ger.

What
may bee added to
this q mildenesse,
to call him by so
q faire a name,
with whome you
* make warre?

Although q pro- Although he shew
cess of time hath eth that through
now made that processe of time the
name more * hard: word *hostis* is vied
for it q is departed properly for the
from the name of pen enemy, who
proudly beareth
Pere- armes against vs.

Peregrinus, [that
is to say, a stran-
ger] and * *q* remaineth properly * for
him who *q* beareth
armes against any
one.

* standeth.
q remained pro-
perly * in him, viz.
stands for &c.
q bare armour of
the contrary part.
q But.

A third Dutie is,
That when the war
is onely for soue-
rantie and glory; as
there must bee the
same iust causes of
war, mentioned be-
fore: so that warre
must be made with
as little cruelty as
may be.

3 *q* Also vwhen
q there is fighting
q for soueraigntie,
and glory is sought
by warre; yet it be-
hooueth alwaies,
q that there be the
very same iust cau-
ses of warre, which
I spake of a little
before. But those
warres *q* in which
the glory of *q* so-
ueraigntie is pro-
pounded, are to be
made *q* with lesse
cruelty. For as

q it is contended,
viz. the contention is
q concerning em-
pire, viz. about go-
uerning or ruling,
who shall rule.
q the causes to be
the same altogether
which I said a little
before, to be the
iust causes of war.

q to which.
q empire or bearing
rule.

q lesse bitterly.

This he illustrateth
1. by an argument
from the like, taken
from the manner of

when wee contend
q in ciuill matters, *q* ciuilly.
wee doe one vway

* if it bee against an
enemie: otherwise if
against a competi-
tour or * a luter
against vs.
q the strife of ho-
nour & dignitie is
with the one.

q of the head.

* waged.

q bee.

q war was holden
with the Latines.
q Penes.

q it was foughten.
q dominion, viz.
who should beare
rule.
q Penes.

* if he be an enemy
[with whome wee
contend]: other-
wise if * a competi-
tour: [for] q with
the one the strife
[is] for honour &
dignitie, with the
other q for life and
honestie. Thus
warre was * holden
with the Celtibers,
and with the Cim-
brians as with ene-
mies, whether
should q live, not
whether should
beare rule: but
q with the Latines,
Samites, Samnites,
q Carthagineans,
[and] with Pirrus,
q the fight was a-
bout the q Empire.
The q Carthagine-
nans [were] truce-
breakers. Anniball
[was]

our contention in
ciuill matters. That
is in ciuill strife wee
deale one way with
an enemie, with
whom we contend
for life & honestie;
and another way
with a competitor
who contendeth
with vs onely for
honour & dignity:
so must it be in war-
like matters.
After, hee further
manifesteth it by
particular exâples:
As by the warre a-
gainst the Celtibers
& Cimbrians, which
was as against ene-
mies for life: and
contrarily against
the Latines, Sabines
Samnites, Cartha-
gineans & Pirrus
for the empire only
wherein they dealt
fairer, though some
of these enemies
were truce breakers
and too cruell.

Thirdly, he sheweth
it by a noble saying
of Pyrrhus, about
the restoring of pri-
soners, comprized
in verse by Ennius,
to this effect;
That he sought not
golde but victorie;
neither would hee
haue the triall made
with golde, but
with the sword.

[was] cruell, the
rest [were] more
iust. q That is
doubtlesse q a no-
ble saying of Pir-
rus, q about resto-
ring of prisoners.

q That indeed
is, &c.
q a worthy sentence
or speeche.
q concerning cap-
tives to be restored.

Neither require
I golde q for my
self, neither shall he
giue me any price;
Neither q [are we
such as] q make a
gaipe of warre, but
q warriors.

q to my selfe.
* summe of mony
or hire.
q playing the huc-
sters with war.
q making war.

Let both of vs
q make triall for
our life, with the
q sworde, not vvith
golde.

q trie out or fight
for our life.
q iron.

Whether q Lady q the mistresse will
Fortune will haue
you or mee to
raigne, q or vvhat
may be side;

q or vvhat fortune
may bring.

Let vs try by
q valour, and with-
q vertue.

¶ speech.

¶ the vertue of whom.

¶ shall be spared.

¶ It is determined, me to spare.

¶ Account it for a guilt, and I giue it, with the great Gods willing.

¶ Truly a regall [or kingly] sentence, and worthy the stocke of the Eacidanes. See the margent Latin.

¶ the nation.

¶ And also if euerie one by themselves.

¶ led or drawne by the times, viz. vpon such extremities.

¶ fidelitie is to be kept in the same verie thing.

all take this ¶ answer;

¶ Whose manhood the fortune of war ¶ shall spare, ¶ I haue determined to spare their freedom.

¶ Accept it: ¶ for I giue it, with the good liking of the great gods.

¶ A Princely saying indeed, and well becomming ¶ the lineage of the Eacidanes.

¶ Likewise also if ¶ priuate men, ¶ inforced by occasions, shall promise any thing to the enemy, ¶ they must keepe their promise therein: as *Regulus*, being taken by the Carthage.

So that hee who should win it by the sword should weare it, with as hartly good will as the great Gods gaue it.

This he commendeth for a princely saying, and well becomming one descending from Achilles.

A fourth precept is, That the verie priuate souldiers performe their word to the enemy, though they promised, being inforced thereunto, by the occasion of the times and straights whereunto they were driuen. This hee declareth also by examples; first of *Regulus* a worthy Roman:

who in the first Punike war, being taken prisoner by the Carthagineans, and by them sent to Rome about the exchanging prisoners, having sworn that he would returne vnlesse he obtained the exchange of them; hee both disswaded the matter [as incōmodious] and chused rather to returne to the enemy, to endure any punishment (though he was much staied by his friends) then to breake his promise giuen to them.

thagineans in the first * Punick-war: * war of Carthage [who] when hee q was sent to Rome q had bin sent, q about the exchanging of prisoners, q concerning the interchanging. and had sworne q that hee would q himself to returne; first, q as q as he came, soone as he came, q his aduice vvas q he thought not in the Senate Se- in the Senate, the nate house, that prisoners to be restored. the prisoners shold not bee restored: afterwards, when * he should haue * he was staied by bin retained or his kinsfolkes and stopped of his. friends, q hee was q chused rather. more willing to returne to punishment, then to q breake his pro- q deceiue or frustrate his fidelity. mise giuen to the enemy. And in the second Punike warre, after q the q the Cannas battel field

or feldes, viz. battel
fought there.

g left in the com-
mon treasure, or to
pay to the comon
treasure, or disfran-
chised & put from
their freedome to
pay as strangers.

verb. which ten An-
nibal sent to Rome
bounde with an
oth themselves

To returne, except
they had obtained
concerning the re-
deeming of those
which were taken;
the Censors left
them all in fines [or
to pay yeerely
fines] who had for-
sworne, so long as
any of them lived.

g nor lesse [or and
no lesse] him who
had found a fault
by the deceiving
of his oth.

g gone out by An-
nibals licence.

* within a little
while after,

g because,

field at Canes,

q verb. the Censors

g seised all those

tenne at a yearely

fine so long as a-

ny of them lived,

vwho had forsworn

themselves: which

Annibal sent to

Rome bound by

oath, that they

should returne, ex-

cept they obtained

the ransoming of

those that were

prisoners [at

Rome:] g & him

likewise who had

found an excuse

by deluding his

oath: For vwhen

as hee had g got-

out of the Campe

by the permission

of Annibal,* he re-

turned a little after,

b for that he sayd,

The second exam-

ple is of the Cen-

sors of Rome: who

fined all those tenne

at an yearely fine,

during their liues,

who had falsified

their othes, where-

by they had bound

themselues to An-

nibal the enemy

that they would re-

turne to him, vn-

lesse they obtained

the ransoming of

certaine prisoners

at Rome. And so

dealt they likewise

with one other,

who deluded the

oth which hee had

taken, by a kinde of

equiuocating, so i-

maginging him selfe

free. For he hauing

sworne to returne;

so soone as euer hee

was gotten with-

out the campe, he

returned presently,

as if hee had forgot

g he

something: & then *q* hee had forgot- *q* himselfe to haue
getting himself out- *ren* I knowe not *torgotten.*
of the campe again. what. And then
he thought himself being gone [again]
quit from his oth; our of the campe,
as hee seemed in hee thought him-
words, though in- selfe * freed from
deed hee was not.

* discharged of
his oath; and [to] his oth.

hee was in wordes,
but indeed hee was

Which Tully proo-
ueth by a generall
rule for all promi-
ses;

That the true mea-
ning, not the bare
word, is euer to be
respected therein.

A fift precept is
this, That there be
euer kept a speciall
hatred of treachery.

This hee teacheth
by a notable exam-
ple of iustice euen
towards the enemy

and against such
dealing: That when
as a runnagate from
Pyrrhus had pro-
mised the Senate to
poison him; the

not. For *q* it is

to bee considered
alwaies in promi-
ses, vwhat a man

q meant, not what
hee said. But the

* greatest example
of iustice towards
an enemy, *q* vvas

shewed by our an-
cestours. Whereas

* a runnagate trai-
tour from Pyrrhus

had promised the
Senate, *q* that hee

would giue the
king poyson and

kill

q you ought to
thinke in fidelitie
[or giuing your
faithfull word]

q haue meant [or
ought to haue
meant.]

* most notable ex-
ample.

q is constituted or
appointed.

* a traitor having
run away from
Pyrrhus.

q himselfe to giue
poison to the king,
[or to poison the
king.]

g He, or the Senate.

* by treacherie or
wickednesse.
g the death.

* of his owne ac-
cord.

g it is spoken.

g warlike or warfa-
ring or militarie
Duties.

g the lowest men,
viz. the meanest.
g fortune.
g seruants.

g hirelings or mer-
cenarie.

kill him, g the Se-
nate and *Cains Fa-
bricius* deliuered
that runnagate trai-
tour to *Pyrhus*: so
as it did not not
approue * the trea-
cherous g death no
not of an enemie,
both mighty and
mouing warre * vn-
prouoked. And
thus g haue we spo-
ken sufficiently of
g Duties appertai-
ning to warre.

Let vs also re-
member, that there
is a iustice to bee
kept euen towards
g the basest. And
the condition and
g estate of g slaues
is the basest: whom
they that com-
mande to vse so,
as g hired seruants
to

Senate sent the trai-
tor back to *Pyrhus*
signifying his trea-
cherie: Thereby
shewing their ha-
tred of such a fact,
though against an
enemie both migh-
tie, and mouing war
vnrouoked.

Thus farre he hath
spoken of warlike
Duties.

Next, he speaketh of
Iustice to bee kept,
euen towards the
basest sort and con-
dition of people,
which he maketh to
bee the slaues; that
we are as wel bound
to giue them their
due for their labor,
as to require their
labor of them.

to *q* require [their] *q* exact
labour, and *q* giue *q* performe iust
them their due, do things vnto them

not *q* command a- *q* giue precepts
mille. *q* Moreo- amille.

uer, whereas iniury *q* Bur.

* may bee done * is.

two manner of
waies, that is to

say, either by * force * violence.

or by * guile: guile * fraude.

seemeth to be * as * the property of
the fox.

of the Fox, force
of the Lion; both

of them most *q* vn- *q* alienated or estran-
beseeming man: ged from man.

yet guile * [is] * deserteth.

worthy the greater
harred. But of all

iniustice none is
q more capital, the

of them, who then
when they deceive
most, yet * doe it

* to handle the
matter.

to the end that
they may seeme

good men. *q* [So
like- *q* Concerning Iu-
stice enough is said.

Lastly, hee setteth
downe two maners
of doing iniurie:

One by force, w^{ch}
is most proper to
the lion; A second

by fraude, the pro-
prie of the foxe:
both of them be vn-

besitting man; but
guile the worse of
the two.

And here he teach-
eth what is the most
hainous kind of all

iniustice, viz. when
men intende the
most deceit, yet do

it vnder a pretence
of honesty, and to
the ende that they

may seeme good
men.

likewise] enough
is said concerning
Iustice.

Chap. 16.

The Argument.

Of liberality the
second parte of Iu-
stice, which yet
Aristotle seemeth
to *q* ioyn to Mo-
destie : vwherein
Tully *q* sheweth
that three things
[are] to be looked
to especially. The
first [is] that wee
giue not any thing
which may bee
hurtfull to the re-
ceiver; nor that
wee take from
q some by wrong
that

q knit.

q teacheth three
things to be looked
vnto chiefly.

q others.

that which we* may
giue to others. * would giue.

The second [is]
that wee* exercise
our liberality *q* ac- ^{* vſe.}
cording to our a- ^{*q* for the measure of}
bility. The third ^{our substance.}

[is] that wee giue
not to whom wee
ought not. But

we must giue either
q to them who are *q* to [men] being
commended for commendable or
verue, or to them praile worthie.

who *q* are louing- ^{*q* prosecute vs in}
ly affected towards ^{honest good will,}
vs; or with whom

q wee haue some ^{*q* some band of}
speciall bande of ^{societie doth come}
societie: or to con- ^{betweene to vs or}
clude, [to them] ^{paſſe between vs,}

who [haue] de-
serued well of vs;
to whome a kind-
nesse is to be *q* re-
payed euen with *q* measured backe.
vsurie: Last of all,

repea-

¶ chiefe fountaine
or spring.

¶ how much.

* carefully.

¶ Let it be spoken
furthermore, as it
was purposed, of
bountie and libera-
litie.
¶ determined.

* beſeeming or a-
greeable to.
¶ But.
¶ exceptions.

repeating the de-
grees of humane
ſocietie from the
¶ firſt originall, he
cōpareth them a-
mongſt theſelues,
that ſo much may
bee performed ¶ as
is due to euery
one. But Seneca
hath written moſt
* diligently in ma-
ny bookes concer-
ning this part.

¶ Let vs now
ſpeake, as Tully diſcourſeth
we had ¶ purposed, of bounty or libe-
ralitie; berality, then
which certainly
nothing is more
* beſitting the na-
ture of man. ¶ Not-
withſtanding, it
hath diuers ¶ cau-
tions. For 1 Firſt
[wee]

In this chapter
Tully diſcourſeth
of bounty or libe-
ralitie;
1. Giving it this
commēdation, that
nothing is more be-
ſeeming man.
2. He teacheth that
three things are to
be looked vnto in
it: as,
1. That our bound-

tie neither hurt the
to whom we would
seeme bountifull,
nor others.

[wee] must *q* take
heed *q* that our *q* see.
bountie hurt not *q* lest our bountie.
both *q* those to *q* those themselves
whom wee would to whom it shall
seeme to be boun-
tifull, and also o-
thers: * Secondly, *q* those themselves
that our *q* bountie *q* liberalitie.
be not *q* more, *q* greater then our
then our abilitie: *q* substance.

2. That our boun-
tie bee not about
our abilitie.

* afterwards.
that our *q* bountie *q* liberalitie.
be not *q* more, *q* greater then our
then our abilitie: *q* substance.

The third is, That
wee giue to euerie
one according to
their dignitie: for
this he counteth the
chiefe foundation
of iustice, whereun-
to all these are to be
referred.

q Thirdly, that we
giue to euerie one, *q* Then.
according to their
dignitie. For that
is the foundation
of Iustice, where-
unto all these
things * are to bee * must be applied.

Cōcerning the first
of these three; he
teacheth vs to be-
ware of it: first, be-
cause they, who
pleasure others
with that which
may hurt them, are
not to bee deemed

referred. For both
they that doe a
pleasure to any
one which may
hurt him, whom
they would seeme
q willing to profit, *q* to will or desire
are not to be *q* deemed *q* pleasure.
q iudged.

q pestilent.

q who.

q others.

q doe fall into.

* For there are: *autem* for *enim*.

q and [those] indecde.

* forceably take.

* giue vainely.

q their owne.

* any way.

med bountious, bountifull, but pernicious flatterers,

q pernicious flatterers.

And also they

q that hurt q some,

that they may be

liberall to others,

q are in the same

iniustice, as if they

should turn other

mens goods into

their owne. * And

indecde there are

many q and name-

ly [those who] are

delirous of honor

and glory, who

* catch away from

some, that which

they * lauish to o-

thers. These also

suppose that they

shall seeme boun-

tifull towardes

q their friends, if

they inrich them

by * any meanes.

But,

bountifull, but pernicious flatterers,

And secondly; because they who hurt some to be bountifull therewith to others, run into the same fault, as if they should take from others to inrich them selues therby.

Now hee sheweth that there are many of this later sort; ad namely all desirous of glorie: who suppose that they shall seeme bountifull to their friendes, if they may inrich them by any means

But this he teacheth
to be so farre from
Duty, as that no-
thing can bee more
contrary vnto it.

Whence hee giueth
this generall direc-
tion for our libera-
lity to our friends,
That it bee such as
may do them good
without the hurt of
any man.

And so concludeth,
that the conueying
of goods by Sylla
and Cesar from the
iust owners to o-
thers, ought not to
be thought liberali-
ty; because nothing
is liberall which is
not iust.

Concerning the
second caution, *viz.*
That our bountie
bee not aboute our
abilitie, hee giueth
these reasons of it:

But that is so farre
off from Dutie,
that nothing can
be more contrarie
to Dutie. We must

therfore take heed,
that we vse *q* such
liberality, as may
profit our friends,
and hurt *q* no man.

Wherefore *q* L. Sil. *q* of L. Sylla.

las and C. *Cæsars*

q conueying of *q* translating.
q goods from the *q* money.

iust *q* owners vnto

* strangers, ought

not to be thought

q liberality. For *q* liberall.

nothing is liberall

q which is not iust. *q* which same.

q The second point *q* the other place

of caution vvas,

that the * bountie * liberalitie:

should not bee

q more then our *q* greater

abilitie; for that

they that will bee

H

more

q we must see there-
fore that.

q no body.

q Lords or maisters
others.

q which same.

q the other place
of caution was, or

the second caution,

* liberalitie:

q greater

q bountifull.
q substance.

* that.

q neighbours or
kinsmen, next any
way.

q for what riches it
were more equall,
&c.

q fremfolkes.
q to their kinsfolkes.

q taking away.
q that store may
abounde.

q giue prodigally.
q we may also see.

q the most part.

q glory.

more q liberall, 1. Because such as
then their q abili- will giue beyonde
tie doth suffer, of- their abilitie, are in-
fend best in * this, iurious to their next
that they are iniu- of kin : for that
rious q to their they conuey those
next kin. q For riches to strangers,
they conuey those which it were more
riches vnto q stran- reason, should bee
gers, which it were dealt & left to their
more reason to be kinsfolkes.

these. There is also 2. Because there is
for the most parte commonly in such
in such liberalitie liberalitie a greedie
a greedy desire of desire of pulling
catching and q pul- from some iniuri-
ling away by iniu- ously, that they may
rie, q that they haue to lauish to o-
thers:

may haue store to
q lauish out to o-
thers. q Moreo-
uer, wee may see
q very many, not
so liberall by na-
ture, as led vvith
a certaine q vaine
glory,

3. Because this kind
of liberalitie spring-
eth rather fro vaine

glorie then good nature, onely to the ende that they may seeme bountifull; and so rather from ostentation, then a free heart.

glory, that they may seeme bountifull: which things may seem to *q* proceed rather from ostentation, then from a *q* free heart.

And such a *q* counterfeite shew is needer to vanitie, then either to liberality or honestie.

q good will.
q dissembling, a neerer neighbour.

So that he accounteth such a counterfeite shew, neerer to vanitie, then either to liberality or honestie.

For the third caution *viz.* That we giue to euery one according to their dignity; hee directeth, that heerein we haue a speciall regard of the worthinesse of each towards who we vse our bountie; and therein to consider both his manners and affection towards vs, as also his neighborhood, society, friendship, & kindnesse to vs.

The third *q* caution is, that in [our] *q* thing propounded.

liberality there should bee a *q* regarde of *q* worthinesse: wherein

both his manners vpon whome the benefit shall be bestowed

q are to be looked vnto, and *q* shall be looked vnto.

also his *q* affection *q* minde or good will.

towards vs, and community and fellowshippe of life,

H 2 and

and kindnesſes

q good turnes, or
ſeruices or duties.

q conferred.

q to our profit.

q a thing to be
wiſhed.

q meet together,
that all which may
concur it is to be
wiſhed;

q performed be-
fore for our com-
modities :

q All
which, it is q to
bee wiſhed that

they may q con-
curr: If not, the

moe cauſes and
the greater, ſhall

haue more weight
[in them].

All which he teach-
eth, that it were to
be wiſhed they
might concurr; o-
therwiſe the moe of
them and greater
to haue the more
weight and reſpect
with vs in our libe-
ralitie.

Chap. 17.

q maters to be
looked vnto.

q reaſon.

* patterne or re-
ſemblance.

q *Manners are
to bee conſidered,
not according to the
exaēt q conſidera-
tion of the vviſe
Stoicke, but the ci-
uill * image of ver-
tue.*

And

Tully declareth in this chapter, what is to be considered concerning mens maners spoken of before, for the guiding of our liberallie.

And first, that wee neglect no man, in whom there appeareth any shewe of vertue.

Hereof also hee giueth this reason; Because we lue not with men who are perfect & absolutely wise; but with such as in whome, wee thinke it very well, if there be but resemblances of vertue.

a. That we regarde euery one the more as he shall be more graced with the milde vertues of modesty, temperance and iustice: and then giueth the reason hereof;

ANd because

q we liue not with perfect men,

and * fully vwise,

but with *q* such in

whom *q* it is very

well, * if there bee

[in them] resemblances of vertue;

I *q* take this also

meete to be *q* considered,

q that wee

despise no man, in

whom any *q* signe

of vertue doth appear.

q Also

that euery man be

specially so regarded,

as each shall

bee *q* more specially

graced with

these milder vertues,

[viz.] * modestie,

temperance,

and that same iustice

of which * man

q it is liued, leado our life.

* thoroughly or absolutely wise.

q those.

q it is done verie well.

* if they be.

q thinke.

q vnderstoode.

q no man to be despised.

q signification, or shewe.

q And euery one

to be so honoured

especially.

q chiefly adorned

* moderation.

q wee haue spoken

much before.

q a valiant minde
and great.
* spirit.

q not perfect nor
wile.

* viz. modestie,
temperance and
iustice.
q touch.

ny things are spo-
ken alreadie. For Because haury cou-
rages and hott spi-
rits are not vsually
in the wisest men;
but contrarily those
milder vertues, viz.
of Temperance &
Iustice, seem com-
monly to follow a
good man.
q a haury & a great
* courage is for the
most parte more
feruent, in a man
q who is too short
in perfection and
wisedom: [but]
these * vertues
seeme rather to
q appertaine to a
good man. And
these things [may
be considered] in
manners.

Chap. 18.

* how we are to
consider.

* esteemed,

* How the good
will of others to-
wards vs, is to bee
* considered.

q Now

Heere Tully teacheth how we are to consider of mens affections towards vs. **N**ow concer. q And. ning the good wil w^{ch} euery one * hath towards * beareth. vs; that is the chief point in Dutie, that we giue most to him, of whome wee are beloued most. But q wee q let vs iudge mens affections towards vs, not by a certaine heate of must measure loue for a fit, as good will, not after the q manner q guise or fashion. of young men, by a certaine q heate q feruency. of loue; but rather by * stabilitie and * assurednesse and constancie. steadfastnesse.

Chap. 19.

How kindnesse is to bee requested to them who haue q wel q if there shall be deser. deserts.

serued of vs.

q fauour is not to
bee gone into or to
be sought, but to be
required.

q added.
* for.

* thankfulness.

q receiued to vse
or occupy.
q greater,

q benefit.

But if the de-
serts [of men]
be such, that q we
are not to seek to
creepe into fauour,
but to requite
kindnesse; a cer-
taine greater care
is to be q vsed, * be-
cause there is no
Dutie more neces-
sarie then * requi-
ting of * thanks.
For if *Hesiod* co-
mandes to restore
those things which
you haue q bor-
rowed for your vse,
with a q larger mea-
sure, if that you
can; what then
ought wee to doe
being prouoked
by a q kindenesse?
Ought wee not to
imitate

Tullie in this
chapter giueth di-
rections for requi-
ting of mens kind-
nesses to vs; & first
teacheth that wee
ought to haue a spe-
ciall care heereof.
Because there is no
Duty more neces-
sarie then it.
1. That wee ought
to repay such kind-
nesses with a greater
measure then we
receiued them.
This hee proueth
first, by the testimo-
nie of *Hesiod*,
commanding to re-
store things bor-
rowed for our vse,
with fuller measure,
if we can; and ther-
fore much more
such good turnes, as
haue been done vs
frankly, and where-
by we haue bin pro-
uoked; heerein i-

imitating the fertile fields. imitate the * fertile * fruitful.
fields. fields, which bring

fields. Secondly, he sheweth it by another reason from the lesse thus; That if wee stick not to bestowe benefits on them who (wee hope) will doe vs good heereafter, much more ought we on them, who haue done vs good already.

men ought wee to
be towards them,
who haue done vs
good alreadie?

3. Whereas there are two kindes of liberalitie, one of bestowing a benefit, the other of requiring; hee teacheth, that howsoever it is in a mans owne power whether hee will freely giue a benefit or no; that yet it is not in any case lawfull for a good man, not to

For whereas there bee two kindes of liberality, one of bestowing a benefit, the other of requiring, it is whether we will giue or no is in our owne power, choice whether wee will giue or no; [but] it is not lawfull for a good man not to restore,

if

q choises.

q to each greatest,
or who hath done
vs the greatest
kindenesse.

* considered.

q euery one.

* doth it.

* of or through.
q rashnesse.

q iudgement, reason

q stirred vp by force
of minde.

* rushing.

* kindenesse.

if so that he can do
it without iniurie.
There are also q re-
spectsto be had of
benefits receiued:

neyther [is there
any] doubt, but
most is due q to e-
uerie the greatest.
Wherein yet it is
especially to bee

* weighed, with
what minde, affec-
tion, and good will
q any man * hath
done it. For many
men doe many
things * in a cer-
taine q headinesse,
without q discreti-
on or measure, to-
wards all [alike:] or
else being q carri-
ed with violence of
affection, as with a
certaine * sudden
winde: which * be-
nefits

requite a kindnesse,
if he can do it with-
out iniurie to any.

3. For kindenesse
receiued, that wee
haue special regard:
because howsoeuer
wee owe most to
him of whom wee
haue receiued
most; yet wee are
to weigh with what
mind & affectio any
one hath benefited
vs. Because many
men do such things
vpon a certain hea-
dinesse without dis-
cretion, & towards
all alike, or carried
with some violence
of affection: which
benefits he teacheth

not to bee so great,
as those which are
bestowed with
iudgement, aduice
and constancy.

benefits are not to be
accounted so great,
as those which are

q offered with
iudgement, q adui
sedly and constant-
ly. But in * bestow-

q deferred or giuen
q considerately.

ing of a benefit,
and in requiting
kindnesse, (if [all]
other things bee

* gratifying any.

q correspondent)

q alike.

Lastly, that in all
these, this is a prin-
cipal part of Duty;
that (all other
things beeing an-
swerable) we helpe
him most that stads
in most neede:
though men com-
monly deale cleane
contrarily; giuing
to them most, of
whom they looke
for most, although
they haue no need.

q this is a princi-
pal point of Duty;

q this is chiefly of
Duty.

that as q any one

q euerie one.

staderh q most in

q especially.

neede of [our]

* helpe, so to helpe

* aide.

him especially.

Which is done q of

q by the most.

verie many * clean

* contrariwise.

contrary.

For q of whom

q from whome.

they hope for

most, although he

haue no neede q of

q of these things

them, yet they

* serue

* respect him.
* chiefly.

* serue him * especially.

Chap. 20.

*What order [is to be observed] in the
q toyming together q neighborhood of
or familiaritie, life: and first concerning the vniuersall
societie of all mortal
men.*

q fellowship, loue.

q preserved best.
q each, or any one.

q most liberalitie
shall be bestowed
on him.
* kindnesse.

q to repeate more
deepely.

But the q societie, and neighborhood of men shall be q best maintained, if as q euery one shall be the neerest [vnto vs] so q we shall bestow most * liberalitie vpon him. But it seemeth wee must q fetch somewhat further,

Here Tully setteth downe certaine things concerning the neighborhood and society of men, and how it may be best maintained. And first giueth this generall precept; that as euery one is neerest vnto vs, so wee bestowe most on him.

Secondly, noteth the degrees of neighborhood and societie in nature.

further, what are the *q*naturall * principles of neighborhood & *q* humane societie: for,

q beginnings of first things or principles of nature
q the fellowship of man.

And therein the first is, that which is seen in the generall societie of all mankinde: the bonde whereof he sheweth to bee reason and speech.

q the first is that, which * is seene in the societie of all mankinde. And the bond thereof is reason & speech: which *q* reconcil-
leth men amongst themselves, and ioyneth them together in a certaine naturall societie by

q the first [principle.] appeareth.

q winneth one man to another.

Because these ioyneth men together in a certaine naturall societie, by teaching, learning, conferring, reasoning, iudgeing and the like: and also because these make men to differ most from the nature of beasts: w^{ch} though they may haue hardi

teaching, learning, *q* conferring, *q* reasoning, and iudgeing. Neither *q* do wee differ more in anything from the nature of * wilde * beasts: in vvhich wee say oft times *q* that there is fortitude,

q communicating.
q disputing.
q are we further away in any thing,

* sauage.

q strength to be in

q iustice, equity, or
goodnesse to be in
them.

q societie.

q this is the largest
spreading fellow-
ship.

* amongst them-
selues.

* given or afforded.

q described:

* kept.

titute, as in horses, [and] in lions; but wee doe not say [q that there is in them] iustice, equitie [or goodnesse:] for they are void of reason and speech. And surely this is the q fellowshipp which q extendeth most largely to men amongst themselves; & to all * amongst all: in the which a community of all things, which Nature hath * bred to the common vse of men, is to be kept so, as those things which are q appoynted by Statutes and the Ciuill lawe, bee so

of reason and speech. And sure-

ly this is the q fel-

lowshipp which q extendeth most

largely to men a-

mongst theselues;

& to all * amongst

all: in the which

a community of

all things, which

Nature hath * bred

to the common

vse of men, is to be

kept so, as those

things which are

q appoynted by

Statutes and the

Ciuill lawe, bee so

* holden as it is or-

dained:

nesse as in Lions, horses, &c. and o- ther such like quali- ties: yet can they not haue iustice or goodnesse, because they want reason & speech.

Thirdly, he sheweth that this societie extendeth it self most largely to all men amongst themselves; & that to this end, a community of all things which nature hath made to the common vse, be kept according as they are appointed by Statutes and the Ciuill lawe;

that this societie extendeth it self most largely to all men amongst themselves; & that to this end, a community of all things which nature hath made to the common vse, be kept according as they are appointed by Statutes and the Ciuill lawe;

that this societie extendeth it self most largely to all men amongst themselves; & that to this end, a community of all things which nature hath made to the common vse, be kept according as they are appointed by Statutes and the Ciuill lawe;

dayned: *q* besides *q* of which same
which [all] other things.

And for all other things, that they be so obserued, as it is in the Greeke pro-
uerbe; That all things be common *q* to bee common *q* to owe to be,
among friends. among friends.

Fourthly, he noteth *q* Likewise all those *q* And.
more particularly, what Duties ought to bee common to
be performed to al, *q* to all men, which *q* of men.
besides those appointed by lawes;
viz. what good soeuer we may doe to
put [for example] by *Ennius* in one
others, without thing, may bee
hurt to our selues: *q* transferred vnto *q* applied.
and that wee are to many; [thus.]
performe the same
euen to them

whom wee knowe A man who cur-
not; according to teously sheweth the
the saying of *Enni- way to one out of*
us: as, his way,

To shew the way Doth, as if hee
courteously to one should light a *q* can- *q* light.
going out of his dle *q* at his candle, *q* of his light.
way. To light ano-
ther mans light fro
ours. So, not to fore
[bae] lesse

q kindle it to him.

* that one precept
is sufficient.

* losse or hurt.

q it.

q euen vnknowne.

q those things are
common.

q the running water
to any.

q to one delibera-
ting.

lesse it may light
himselfe, when he
hath q lighted the
other.

For * there is suf-
ficient commaun-
ded by one thing,
that whatsoever
can bee lent with-
out * hindrance
q be granted to e-
uery one, q yea
though vnknown.

Whereupon q are
those common say-
ings; Not to for-
bid [* any] the
running water: to
suffer [any that
will] to take fire
from [our] fire,
to give faithfull
counsell q to him

that asketh aduice:
which things are
profitable to those
who receiue [the]

[and]

So, not to for-
bid any the running
water. To suffer
any one to take fire
from our fire. To
give faithfull coun-
sell to each asking our
aduice.

And generally to
yeelde whatsoever
things are profita-
ble to the receiuer,
not hurtfull to the
giuer.

Whence he concludeth, that as we are to vse these things our selues; so euer to haue respect to the common good of all:

[and] not *q* hurt-*q* troublesome or full to the gi-
burdensome.
uer. Wherefore

wee must both vse those things, and
* *doe something to*
* *further the com-*
* *mon commoditie*
somewhat to the

Yet here he giueth another caution. That because the substance of each priuate man is small, and the multitude of them that stand in need is infinite; that euerie one to order his liberality that first he looke to himselfe and his, and so to all other in their place, and as they are neerer to him or further off in degree,

common com-
ditie. But because the *q* substance *q* of *q* of euerie one by
himselfe.
each priuate man *q* riches.
is small, and the
multitude of them
who neede *q* it is *q* the riches.
infinite, common
liberalitie must be
referred to that end

* *which Ennius*
* *speaketh of.*
* *of Ennius,* that
neuerthelesse it
q light himselfe; *q* may shine to him
itselfe.
That we may haue
ability, wherewith
we may be liberall
to our owne.

Chap. 21.

THere bee also
 moe degrees
 of society of men.

* for to leaue that
 endlesse number.

q countrie or
 people.
 q tongue.
 q by which.
 q chiefly.

q inward.
 * one.
 q for there are ma-
 ny things common
 to citizens among
 themselves.
 q place where the
 court is kept or the
 market.
 q temples.
 q porches or gal-
 leries.
 q waies.
 q rights.

* For that we may
 departe from that
 infinitenesse, there
 is a neerer [de-
 gree] ; To bee of
 the same q stocke,
 nation, [and] q lan-
 guage, q whereby
 men are q especi-
 ally knit together.

It is also more
 q neere, to bee of
 * the same Citie.

q For citizens haue
 many things com-
 mon amongst
 themselves; the
 q Common Hall,
 q Churches, q Gal-
 lerie walks, q High
 waies, Lawes, q Pri-
 uiledges

Chap. 21.

In this chapter
 hee setteeth downe
 sundrie degrees of
 the societie of men.
 And first, how after
 the generall society
 with all; these are
 neerer degrees;
 1. To bee of the
 same stocke, nation
 & language, where-
 by men are more
 specially knit toge-
 ther.

2. To bee of the
 same citie, is a nee-
 rer degree. These
 also haue many
 things common a-
 mong themselves,
 as common-halls,
 churches, walks,
 high-waies, lawes
 priuiledges, iudge-

ments, voyces in election, customes, dealings, and the like, to ioyne them together.

uiledges, Iudgements, Voices in election, Customs
q likewise and Familiarities, also many matters and

q besides.

3. A neerer degree is of kinsfolkes, to be of the same kin, wherein the society of men is brought into a narrow compasse.

q Bargaines with many. But q a faster knitting [of men] together, is of the fellowship of kinsfolkes.

q reasons [covenants or dealings] contracted.

q sundry.
q a straighter binding together or neerer.

And heere hee teacheth, what is the verie first and highest societie; and so how that ascendeth and spreadeth.

For from that vnmeasurable society of mankind, q it is driven into a little and a narrow compasse. For

* infinite or innumerable.

q it is shut vp into verie little and streight [place.]

q whereas this is common q to all living creatures by nature, that they

q sixth.
q of all living creatures.

That whereas there is in all living creatures a naturall desire of procreation, so also in man: where the first societie is in wedlocke, the second in children, a

haue q a desire of procreation; the first societie is q in the very wedlock, the next in children

q a lust of procreation, breeding or ingendring.

q in wedlocke it selfe.

Chap. 21.

THere bee also
 moe degrees
 of society of men.
 * For that we may
 departe from that
 infinitenesse, there
 is a neerer [de-
 gree] ; To bee of
 the same *q* stocke,
 nation, [and] *q* lan-
 guage, *q* whereby
 men are *q* especi-
 ally knit together.

It is also more
q neere, to bee of
 * the same Citie.

q For citizens haue
 many things com-
 mon amongst
 themselves; the
q Common Hall,
q Churches, *q* Gal-
 lerie walks, *q* High
 waies, Lawes, *q* Pri-
 uiledges

Chap. 21.

In this chapter
 hee setteth downe
 sundrie degrees of
 the societie of men.
 And first, how after
 the generall society
 with all, these are
 neerer degrees ;
 1. To bee of the
 same stocke, nation
 & language, where-
 by men are more
 specially knit toge-
 ther.

2. To bee of the
 same citie, is a nee-
 rer degree. These
 also haue many
 things common a-
 mong themselves,
 as common-hals,
 churches, walks,
 high-waies, lawes
 priuiledges, iudge-

* for to leaue that
 endlesse number.

q countrie or
 people.
q tongue.
q by which.
q chiefly.

q inward.
 * one.
q for there are ma-
 ny things common
 to citizens among
 themselves.
q place where the
 court is kept or the
 market.
q temples.
q porches or gal-
 leries.
q waies.
q rights.

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And heere hee teacheth, what is the verie first and highest societie; and so how that ascendeth and spreadeth.

That whereas there is in all liuing creatures a naturall desire of procreation, so also in mā: where the first societie is in wedlocke, the second in children, a

uiledges, Iudgements, Voices in election, Customes

q likewise and Familiarities, also many matters and

q Bargaines with many. But q a

faster knitting [of men] together, is of the fellowship of kinsfolkes.

For from that vnmeasurable societie of mankind, q it is driven into a little and a narrow compasse. For

q whereas this is common q to all liuing creatures by nature, that they

haue q a desire of procreation; the first societie is q in the very wedlock, the next in children

q besides.

q reasons [couenants or dealings] contracted.

q sundry.

q a straighter binding together or neerer.

* infinite or innumerable.

q it is shut vp into verie little and straight [place.]

q sixth.

q of all liuing creatures.

q a lust of procreation, breeding or ingendring.

q in wedlocke it selfe.

q and then.

q to which.

q that.

q beginning.

q seminarie.

q coniunctions or
societies of bre-
thren do follow.

q cosin germanes,
viz. brethren and
sisters children.

q taken or holden.

q newe townes.

q mariages.
q affinities.

q moe.

* spring.

* multiplication.

dren, q and after third in one house;
that one house, wherto most things
q whereto all things are common.

are common. And This he sheweth to
q this is the q ori- be the originall of
ginall of a Citie, & a citie, & as it were
as it were the q seed the seede plot of a
plot of a Cōmon- common weale.
weale. [Then] A fourth societie he

followe the q kin- zyn germanes, viz.
reds of brethren; of brethren and si-
after, of q brothers sters children: w^{ch}
children & sisters when they so in-
children: which crease that they can
when they cannot not be contained in
now bee q contray- one house, doe get
ned in one house, them abroad into
get them abroad other houses as into
into other houses, colonyes, or newe
as into q Colonies. townes.

[Afterwarde] doe After do followe
followe q enterma- termariages:
riages and q allian- Whence ariseth a
ces, of which also fift societie; viz. of
q many kinsfolke alliances of kin-
[do * arise.] Which folkes by mariage;
* propagation and of which many kin
do spring.

q suc-

And this propagation hee noteth to be the original of common-weales. *q* succession is the *q* issue or offspring. originall of common weales.

Also, that this conjunction of blood and good will knitteth men in loue together; And so the * conjunction of blood * fellowship or matching of bloods. & good will [thereupon] * knitteth * bindeth. men in loue together.

And that so much the more, because they haue the same monumets of their ancestours, religion, burying places, &c. which hee noteth to bee a great matter to knit the hearts of men in one. *q* holy rites. *q* sepulchers, or places of buriall common. the same *q* religion, to haue *q* the same burying places. But of all societies there is

But of all other societies he teaches that the excellentest and most firme, is of friends; viz. when good men like in conditions, are linked together in familiarity. none *q* better, none *q* more excellent. more * firme, then * sure or stable. when good men like in *q* conditions, are *q* linked together in familiarity. *q* maners. *q* conioyned.

For that honestie, (which wee haue oft times

q spoken of.

* allureth vs.

* to be friendly.

q be in, or to dwell.

* every vertue, or
all kinde of vertues.

* her.

q maketh that we
loue them.

q to be in, viz.
dwell or harbour.

q effecteth it.

q especially.

* And indeed.

q more amiable.

q more coupling
together.

q similitude of
good maners.

q like studies.

q wills.

q mentioned) al-
though wee see it
in another, yet it
* moueth vs; and
maketh vs * friends
to him, in whom
it seemeth to *q* be.

And although * all
vertue allureth vs
to * it selfe, and
q causeth vs to loue
them in whome it
seemeth to be; yet
Iustice and Libera-
lity *q* worketh that
most of all. * But,
there is nothing

q that winneth
more loue, nor
q that linketh men
more surely toge-
ther, then *q* a like-
nesse of good con-
ditions. For in
whome there are
q the same desires,
the same *q* mindes,

The reason hereof
is, first, because the
vertues which wee
see or imagine in o-
thers, do most firm-
ly binde vs vnto
them, & especially
Iustice & liberalitie.

And secondly, for
the likenesse of con-
ditions in right
friends; then we
he sheweth that no-
thing winneth
more true loue, nor
linketh men more
firmly: for that
in whom there are
the same desires &
mindes, either of

q it

hem is as much
delighted with the
other as with him-
selfe; & thence ar-
iseth that which Pi-
thagoras requires
in friendship; That
many become one.

q it commeth to
passe amongst
these, q that either
is as much de-
lighted with the
other as with him-
selfe: and that q is
brought to passe,
which Pythagoras
q requires in friend-
ship, that q many
become one. Al-

q it is done in these.

q that each is de-
lighted equally
with, &c.

q is effected or
commeth to passe.

q willeth.

q one be made of
many.

so that q common
fellowship is great,
which q groweth of
q kindneses given
and q receiued to
and fro. q Which
whilst they are
* mutuall and plea-
suring, they a-
mongst whome
q those happen,
are q linked in a
firmesocietie.

q communie of
fellowship, or so-
cieties

q is made of.
q benefits or good
turnes.

q taken.

q which kindneses.

* common from
one to another,
and such as pleasure
one another.

q those [kindnes-
ses] are.

q tied in fast fellow-
ship.

Furthermore, hee
teacheth here, that
the fellowship wh
groweth of kinde-
neses giuen and ta-
ken to and fro, is
verie great; because
these being mutuall
and pleasuring one
another, must needs
link men in a firme
league.

But when you
haue q considered
all

q viewed or perused.

Sixtly, he teacheth,
that yet all things

q reason and minde

q there is none of
all societies.

q which is to euery
one of vs.

q [Our] parents
[are] deare, [our]
children [are] dear.
q [our] kinsfolkes
& familiar [friends]
[are] deare.

q can or would.
q to offer himsele
to death willingly,
or to die.
q profit the same.
q By which [or by
how much.]

q more detestable

all things, in q dis-
course and reason;
q of all societies
there is none more
acceptable, none
more deare, then
that q which euery
one of vs hath with
the Cōmon-weale.

q Deare are our pa-
rents, deare are
our children, [our]
kinsfolkes, and fa-
miliars: but our
Countrey alone
contaynes [in it
selfe] all the loues
of all [these.] For
which, what good
man q could doubt
q to take his death,
if he may q doe it
good? q Where-
by the beastly cru-
eltie of these men
is q more to be ab-
horred, who haue
q rent

being rightly con-
sidered, the most
acceptable & deare
societie of all o-
thers, is that which
which euery one
hath with the com-
mon wealth.

This hee prooueth
by an argument
from the lesse, thus;
That howsoeuer
our parents are dear
vnto vs, and so our
kinsfolkes & fami-
liars, yet our coun-
trie alone contains
in it selfe the loues
of all these, and
therefore ought to
be dearer to vs then
all these. So that no
good man should
doubt to lay down
his life for it, if hee
may doe it good.

Whence hee noteth
that the beastly cru-
eltie of such men
who seeke the vtter

ouerthrowe of their countries, or the rending the same in peeces by any mischiefe, ought to be abhorred of all. *q* rent in sunder *q* torne in peeces, their Countrey rende their country in sunder. with *q* all manner of mischiefe, and *q* all horrible wickednesse. both are and haue

beeene occupied *q* in the vtter ouerthrowe thereof. *q* in blotting it out [or destroying it] vterly.

But if *q* question and comparison be made, to whome *See heere the powder traitors & all of that bloody faction.* most dutie ought to bee yeilded; *q* any contention and comparison bee made.

our Countrey and *q* most or duty ought to be given. parents are the *q* principall.

chiefe, by whose *q* by the benefits of whom wee are benefits we are especially bound: bound chiefly.

Al Our children *Al* next our children and our whole [are] next, and our house. whole familie; which *q* hangeth *q* looketh to vs and vpon vs alone, neither can haue no other other refuge.

which *q* hangeth *q* looketh to vs and vpon vs alone, neither can haue no other other refuge.

other refuge. *q* And then.

3. Our kinsfolk carrying themselues *q* Afterwards our kinsfolkes agreeing

q with whom for
most part a comon
fortune.

* comforts.

q life & common-
nesse of table.

* communications

* comfortings.

q sometimes.

q do flourish espe-
cially.

q that is the most
pleasant friendship.

q the similitude of
manners.

q yoked together.

ing well [with vs] well and lovingly
towards vs.

q who also com-
monly haue the
same estate. Where-
fore the necessarie

* aydes of life, are
due to those espe-
cially whome I
spake of before:

but *q* conuersation
and common li-
uing, counsels,

* speeches, exhor-
tations, * consola-
tions, and *q* other-

whiles chidings,
q are most vsuall
amongst friendes.

And *q* that friend-
ship is the pleasan-
test, which *q* like-
nesse of conditions
hath *q* linked in
one.

And to these prin-
cipally he teacheth,
that the necessarie
aydes of life apper-
taine; but that fa-
miliar conuersati-
on, counsels, spea-
ches, exhortations,
consolations and o-
therwhile chidings,
are most vsuall a-
mongst friends.

And in a word, that
of all friendships
that is the plea-
santest which is lin-
ked by likenesse of
conditions.

Chap. 22.

The Argument.

q The Duties of *q* It behooveth the
Liberality ought to Duties of liberalitie
 be considered, not only to be looked vnto
q by these degrees of not onely, &c.
q from.

Tully in this
 chapter setteth
 downe some other
 Duties, concerning
 our bounry and li-

societie, but also by
other circumstan-
ces.

berality: as,

1. that in perfor-
 ming Duties to ech
societie mentioned,
 we must still confi-
 der, what is most
 necessarie for euery
 man; and then what
 each is able to at-
 taine of himselfe, &
 what hee cannot
 without our helpe:
 and that the degrees
 of friendship and
 of times are not al-
 waies alike.

B Vt in *q* do- *q* distributing or
 ing all these performing al these
 Duties, *q* we must *q* it is to be seen.
 mark what is most
 * necessarie for e- * needfull.
 uerie man, and
 what euery one *q* is *q* can attaine or
 either able of vna- cannot.
 ble to attaine with
 vs or without vs.
 Therefore the de-
 grees of friendship * must not be alike
 * Shall not bee the to the degrees of
 same, times.

same, which [are]
of times.

Al. And there are
Duties.

q due rather.

q getting.

q controuersie in
iudgement.

q warily looked vn-
to.

q exercise.
q is to be taken.

2 *Al* There are
certain Duties
which are *q* more
due to some then
to others: as, you
shall sooner helpe
your neighbour in
q inning [his] corn,
then either your
brother, or your
familiar friend.

But if there bee a
q trauersie in law,
you shall rather
defend your kins-
man and friende
then your neigh-
bour.

These things
therefore, and the
like are to be *q* tho-
rowly considered
in euery Dutie; al-
so custome and
q practice *q* are to
be

2. That there are
certain Duties more
due to some further
from vs in degree
then others neerer.
As, that we are soo-
ner to helpe our
neighbour in in-
ning his corne then
our brother, or
familiar friend; but
in a trauersie of law
a man is rather to
defend his kinsman
or friende then his
neighbour.

3. That as wee are
thoroughly to consi-
der these things in
euery Duty, so also
to put them in vre;
that by long cu-
stome and practice

we may become
expert to knowe
what is due to euery
man.

be vsed, that vvee
may bee * good * able to giue vp a
q makers of ac- good account.
count of Duties: q reckoners.

to see by adding
and deducting
q what summe re- q what may be the
mayneth of the summe of the rest
rest. Whereupon or remainder.

q wee may vnder- q you may vnder-
stand how much stand, viz. a man
is due to euery may vnderstand,
one. But, as nei-

This bee maketh
plaine by a simili-
tude taken from
Physiciā, Captains
and Oratours; who
although they haue
gotten the rules of
their art, yet cannot
attaine ought wor-
thy any great com-
mendation, without
vse and practice.

ther P yficiās, nor
Captaines, nor O-
ratours, although
they haue q gotten q perceined [or at-
the rules of [their [tained] the precepts

art, can attaine to
any thing worthy
great q commen- q praise.
dation, without vse

and q practice: so q exercise.
indeed those rules
of * keeping Duty * obseruing.

And also that al the
rules of Duty are
taught vs that wee

are q taught vs, q set downe orde-
that wee our selues liuered.
q should

q may doe them

q But.

q greatnesse or
difficulty.

q should put them may practice them;
in vre. q For the and for that the
q hardnesse of the hardnesse of the
matter requireth matter requireth vse
also vse and exer- and exercise.)

q And we haue said
almost enough.

cise. q And thus
haue we spoken al- And thus conclu-
most sufficiently, deth this point, how
how honestie from honestie is deriued
which [all] Durie from those things
q springeth, is q de- which are in the
riued from those lawe of humane so-
cietie.

q riseth or cometh
q drawn or fetched.

things, which are
in the law of q hu-
mane societie.

q right of mans fel-
lowship.

Chap. 23.

The Argument.

The third foun-
taine of Durie [is]
of q Magnanimities
which q is bred of
a contempt of hu-
mane

q valiantnesse of
courage, nobleness
of stomacke or
fortitude,
q doth come from.

mane things, and
a certaine *q* noble *q* amplitude or
nelle of minde: greatnelle.
and it is declared

especially in *q* dan-
gerous attempts *q* going to [or at-
tempting] perils.
and *q* atchieuing *q* going about.
difficult matters.

q This hath at the *q* There is to this
right hand *q* auda- at the right [hand.]
ciousnelle, *q* obli- *q* foolish hardinesse
nacie, *q* outrageous or oueruentrous
fiercenesse, *q* arro- *q* bouldnesse.
gancie, cruelty, *q* proud presump-
q rash confidence, tion.
q weiwardnesse, an- *q* confidence [or
ger, *q* rigour, *q* am- presumption.]
bition; at the lest *q* frowardnesse.
hand *q* fearfulness, *q* cruelty or tyranny
q cowardlinesse, *q* an immoderate
q stupiditie, and *q* desire of honour.
[other] vices of *q* timorousnesse.
q the same kinde. *q* blockishnesse.
q that.

Also Magnanimity
is *exercised part- * practised.
ly in *warlike mat- * martiall busines
ters, but more in or matters of warre
or chivalrie.
ciuill

ciuill affaires, and
to conclude in the
private life, con-
cerning all vvhich
q Tully q discour-
seth diuersly.

q Cicero.
q disputeth.

BVt wee must vnderstand, whereas four kinds [of virtue] are propounded, from w^{ch} Honestie and Dutie should q proceed; q that seemes to shine most brightly, which is q wrought with a great and q loftie spirit, despising q worldly vanities. Therefore [that] is q commonly ready in q reproach, if any such thing may be said.

Heere Tully entereth to speak of fortitude, shewing it self in a braue mind, despising these externall things; teaching that it seemeth the most glorious of all the foure cardinall vertues;

This hee proueth first by the vsuall reproches & taunts which are cast vpon men for their lacke of courage:

q see.
q that to seem most bright, or most glorious.

q done.
q haughty courage.

q humane things.

q especially in readinesse.

q reproachfull speeches.

For in truth yee As the speech of
young

the Generall in En- young men q carry q doe beare.
nins taunting the q womanish hearts. q womanlike
cowardlinesse of the mindes;
souldiers; And that q vir- q maid.

That they bare butt gin [the heart] of
womanish hearts, a man.

and that a maide And if there be,
by her valour put any thing like to
them all to shame. this.

And againe: That O *Salmacis* * giue * thou giuest.
the Salmatian spoyles without
spoiles were with- blood or sweat.

Secondly, by the And contrarily
contrary prailes, I q know q wor.
the exceeding com- not how, we praise
mendations of such those things, as
exploits as are done with a more
valorously and with full mouth, which
a noble spirit. are done with a

This hee further il- * great courage, * noble;
lustrateth, q valiantly and ex- q both.
cellently. Hence
is the [large] * field * discourse.

i. By the ample of the Rhetoriciās,
prailes of the Rhe- concerning *Ma-*
toricians both of *ratbo*, *Salamis*, the
his owne and for- Plateans, *Thermo-*
mer times, concer- pilanes, *Lucrians*,
ning sundry valo- K and
rous persons, their

¶ the Scipioes.

* hath the commendation to excel.

* valorousnesse or noblenesse.

¶ warlike.

* their images of honour set vp or statues.

¶ in military attire, or the attire of souldiers.

and [concerning] noble acts, and places where; especially of the people of Rome, whose chiefefame was for their valour.

& P. ¶ Scipio, hereby M. Marcellus & innumerable others, & especially the very people of Rome*excelleth in

* greatness or courage. And [their] desire of ¶ Martiall glory is declared, for that wee see euen [* their] pictures for most parte ¶ in vvarlike aray.

And lastly, for that whome the people of Rome would chiefly honor, they erected them pictures in honour of them, for most part in warlike attire.

Chap.

Chap. 24.

q Fortitude if it q valour or man-
 departs from bone- hood.
 stie, q loseth q the q to lose.
 name. q the name of for-
 titude.

Tullie in this chapter teacheth, how to discern of true fortitude. And first, that boldnesse in daungers, if it be either voide of iustice, or fight for a mans priuate commoditie and not for the common good, is not true fortitude: because it is no propertie of vertue, but rather of brutishnesse, setting aside all humanitie.

1 But that los-
 tnesse of
 q spirit which is q mind or courage.
 leene in perils and
 in q travells, if it q labours.
 q be void of iustice q want of iustice.
 and fight not for
 the common * safe * good.
 rie, but for q pri- q the owne com-
 uate commoditie, modities [or a
 * is faultie. For mans priuate gain]
 that is not onely * is in fault [or is to
 q no propertie of bereckoned faulty]
 vertue, but rather q not the propertie
 of q brutishnesse, q fiercenesse.
 q setting all huma- q repelling all hu-
 nitie aparte. manitie.

Secondly, he commendeth that defi-

2 Therefore q for- q valour therefore.
 titude is well defi-
 ned

q it to be a vertue.
 * contending.
 * in defence of e-
 quitie.

q wilie traines and
 naughtie dealing.

q That therefore of
 Plato is worthy.

q remoued.

q craftinesse.

q prepared.
 q inforced or thrust
 forward.
 q by the own conc-
 trounesse or desire
 of gaine.

ned of the Stoiks, vvh^en they say,
 q that it is a vertue
 * fighting for * e-
 quity. Wherefore no
 man that hath at-
 tained the glory of
 fortitude, [euer]
 got [that] praise,
 by q treacherie, &
 naughtie deceit:
 for nothing can be
 honest vvhich is
 voide of iustice.

q Therefore that Secondly, commen-
 is a worthie saying deth a worthy say-
 of Plato: Not only ing of Platoes to
 (quoth he) [that] this end;
 knowledge which
 is q seuered from
 iustice is rather to
 be called q subtil-
 ty then wisdom; That as knowledg
 but also a courage seuered from iustice
 which is q forward is rather called sub-
 to danger, if it be tletic then wisdom;
 q set on q for ones so a courage, thogh
 forward to perils,
 owne

nition of fortitude,
 giue by the Stoiks;
 That it is a vertue
 fighting for equity.

And thereupon in-
 ferreth first, that no
 man euer attained
 the praise of true
 fortitude by trea-
 cherie or naughtie
 dealing: for that
 nothing can be ho-
 nest which is not
 iust.

That as knowledg
 seuered from iustice
 is rather called sub-
 tletic then wisdom;
 so a courage, thogh
 forward to perils,

yet if it be set on for
greedinesse of gain
or other priuate re-
spects, and not for
the comon good,
ought rather to be
tearmed audacious-
nesse then valour.
And thirdly thereon
exhorteth all who
would be truly va-
lorous, to be good
men and of plaine
hearts, louers of
truth, and free from
all deceipt; because
these vertues right-
ly deserue the praise
of iustice.

owne greedinesse,
and not for the
common *q* good, *q* profit.
may rather haue
name of *q* audaci- *q* rash or lewde
ousnesse then of hardinesse.
q fortitude. And *q* manhood.
therefore we would
haue *q* men who *q* valiant and noble
are valorous and minded men.
puissant, to bee
good and *q* plaine *q* simple.
hearted, *q* louers *q* friends.
of truth, and no-
thing at all deceit-
full; which are *q* of *q* of the middle
the midst of all the praise of Iustice
praises of iustice.

In the third place, he
reprooues another
odious fault which
attends vpon too
great hautinesse of
minde: that com-
monly such men
become headie, and
are ouer-desirous of
ruling.

3 But that is o-
dious, that in *q* such *q* this
hautinesse and
greatnesse of cou-
rage, there grow-
eth * most easily * very soone.
q a wilfulnesse, and *q* obstinacie.
and ouer-great de-
sire of bearing
K3 rule.

¶ as it is in Plato.

rule. For ¶ as Plato writeth, that the generall fashion of the Lacedemonians, was to be inflamed with a desire of conquering: euen so euery one as hee doth most excell in greatnesse of courage, so hee specially desireth to bee ¶ chief of all, or rather ¶ without peere. And when ¶ a man conueth ¶ to bee aboue all, it is a difficult thing to keepe equitie, which ¶ is most proper to iustice. Whereupon it cometh to passe, that they cannot ¶ endure themselues to be overcome, neither

This hee proueth by the testimonie of Plato, shewing this to be the generall fashion of the Lacedemonians, to be inflamed with a desire of conquering: and that heere; because as any one more excelleth in courage, so he more desireth to be chief of all and without peere.

¶ prince.

¶ to be alone.

¶ you shall earnestly desire.

¶ to excell all.

* belongeth properly.

* abide that they should be overcome or bridled.

And then declareth other mischiefs following in them heereupon: as first, iniustice; because it is hard for such to keepe equitie. 3. Pride, so as they cannot indure to yeelde to others either

ther in reasoning or
any right triall of
lawe.

3 Bribing or cor-
rupting others by
gifts and making
factions, whereby
they may attain the
greatest wealth and
become rather su-
perious by wealth,
then equall by iu-
stice.

But yet he reacheth
that the harder it is
for such valorous
mindees to bee iust,
the more excellent
it is in them who
attaine it.

Lastly, he conclu-
deth heerupon that
they onely are to be
accounted valorous,
not who do wrong
to any; but they who
saue others from
wrong.

And that true va-

ther by reasoning,
nor q by any com-
mon and right or-
der of lawe. And
they become for
the most part q bri-
bers & q factious,
that they may at-
taine the greatest
wealth, and be ra-
ther superious by
power, then equall
by iustice. q But

the harder it is [to
master this affecti-
on] the worthier
it is. For there is
no * time that
ought q to be with-
out iustice. They
therefore are to be
accounted valo-
rous & of a wor-
thie courage, q not
who doe wrong,
but withstand it.
But a true and wise
valour

q by any publike &
lawfull right.

q giuers of great
gifts.
q makers of facti-
ons.

q but by how much
that is more diffi-
cult, by so much [it
is] more famous.

* season.
q to want.

q not who doe,
but who doe
away iniurie.

q to be put.

q himselfe to be
chiefe.

q who so.

q error.
q vnskilfull multi-
tude.

q he is not.
q in great men.

q inforced or eg-
ged on.

q doings,
q which is indeed
a very slippery place

valour of minde iudgeth that hone-
sty which nature chiefly followeth,
q to consist in deeds and not in glory.

Also that all who are truly valorous had rather bee the chiefe, then to seeme so. For q bee that dependeth vpon the gerronious conceit of the q rude multitude, q is not to be accounted q in the number of valiant men. But as

And besides, because the brauest mindes and most desirous of glorie are the easiliest over carried to vniust actions.

And finally, that therefore valorous mindes do stand in a very tickle & slippery place: because

found

it is hard to finde a man, who hauing achieved great exploits & dangerous adventures, desireth not glory as a reward of his labors. **F**ound, who, *q* when *q* labours being undertaken and perils gone into or atchieued, he hath sustained trauell, and aduentured dangers, doth not desire glorie as a reward of his labours.

Chap. 25.

TTrue *q* valour of *q* magnanimity. **m**ind doth consist in two things chiefly: in contemning both *q* prosperitie and ad- *q* prosperous and aduerse things. *q* performing hard matters. **u**eritie, and in *q* at- **c**hining hard enter- **p**rices.

Here Tully noteth wherein a valiant minde is discerned: to wit, in two things especially. The first whereof is, in despising outward **V**alorous and great minde is *q* alwaies discerned in two things especially: whereof the one consisteth *q* altogether.

¶ contempt.

¶ it is perswaded
to a man.

¶ a man to owe to
admire, wish or to
desire earnestly no-
thing but that, &c.

¶ and to yeeld to
none, neither man.

¶ no.

¶ passion or affec-
tion.

¶ affected.

¶ doe.

¶ matters.

¶ vehemently.

steth in the ¶ de- things. When as a
spilling of outward man is perswaded
things: when ¶ one that hee ought nei-
is perswaded, ¶ that ther to admire, nor
a man ought not so much as to wish
either to admire, any thing but that
or to wish, or ear- which is honest and
nestly to desire comely: nor yet to
ny thinge, but yeeld either to man
what is honest and or passion of mind
comely; ¶ neither or to fortune, but
to yeelde to ¶ any onely to right rea-
either man, or ¶ per- son.

turbation of mind,
nor to fortune.

The other thing
is, that when you The second is, that
are so ¶ disposed when a man is thus
in minde, as I said disposed in minde,
before, you ¶ vn- he vndertake the
dertake great ¶ en- atchieving of great
terprizes, and those enterprizes, & those
indeed most pro- such as may bee
fitable, but ¶ very most profitable; but
hard, and full of very hard and full of
trauell and danger, both vnto life, and
both of life, and other things apper-
taining to the com-
fort thereof.

also

also of many
things which * ap- * to life do belong.
pertaine vnto life.

Now, bee sheweth All the q glory q splendour or
that all the glorie, and q honour of shining brightness,
honour and profit these two things, q dignitie.
arising of these two
things, is in this la- I adde q moreouer, q also.
ter of them; but the the profit * is in the * stande
cause and means of later; but the cause
making worthe and meanes ma-
men, is in the for- king worthe men,
mer of them; be- is in the former.
cause the despising For q therin is that q that is [or con-
of all outward which maketh ex- fests] therein.
things, as riches & cellent courages,
honours, is the way q and such as de- q and despising
to make excellent spile all humane worldly vanities.
courages.

This againe be tea- things. And this
cherh to appeare in q same q appeareth q same thing.
these two things: in two things; if q is seene.
First, if a man iudge you both iudge
that thing onely to that thing onely
bee good which is to be good which
honest; and second- is honest, and also
ly, if he be free from be free from all
all passion and dis- quietnesse of mind.

Because this is, first, q disquietnesse. For q perturbation or
to be accounted the it is to bee accoun- vexation of minde.

ted

q account small, or
make small recko-
ning of.

q picked out, or
most notable or
choise.

q very famous.

* steadfast.

q firme reason.

q which being ma-
ny and diuers are
conuerfant [or fall
out.]

q fortune [or con-
dition] of men.

q that you depart
nothing.

q state.

q nothing from.

ted the part of a
valiant and worthy
mind, both to q set
light by those
things, which seem
to most men q sin-
gular and q excel-
lent; and also to
contemne the same
with a * stable and
q grounded iudge-
ment. And like-

wise this is [a toke] of a valiant cou-
rage and of great
constancie, so to
beare those things
which seeme bit-
ter, q wherof there
are many and di-
uerse in the life &
and q state of man,
q as that you no-
thing swerue from
the q order of na-
ture, q nor from
the dignitie of a

true property of a
valiant minde; not
onely to set light
by those outward
things, which seem
to most men excel-
lent and singular,
but also to cōtemn
them with a stable
iudgement.

And secondly, be-
cause this declareth
a valiant courage
and rare constancie,
for a man so to
beare the hardest &
bitterest things that
can fall out in this
life, bee they neuer
so many, as that hee
neuer swarue one
iot from the state &
order of nature; nor
from the dignitie of
a wise man, to doe
any thing against
either of these.

wife

And this againe, be-
cause it is not meete
that hee should bee
ouercomne by any
inordinate desire,
who cannot bee
ouercome by feare;
much lesse be con-
quered by pleasure,
who hath shewed
himselfe vnconque-
rable by any trauel.

wise man. More-
ouer, it is not *q* su- *q* agreeable or like-
table *q* that hee ly.
should be subdued *q* him to be broken
with *q* inordinate
desire, who cannot *q* couetous desire.
be *q* subdued by
feare. Nor *q* that *q* broken.
he should be con- *q* him to be ouer-
quered by pleasure, comn of pleasure.
who hath shewed
himselfe *q* vncon- *q* iuuincible.
querable *q* by [any] *q* by labour.
trauell. Wherefore

Therefore hee tea-
cheth that these
things are carefully
to be shunned of a
valiant man; & also
that couetousnesse
of money is chiefly
to bee eschewed of
him. Because there
is no such signe of
a base minde, as to
loue riches; & con-
trarily nothing
more noble, then to
despise money if a

are to be *q* auoided, *q* shunned.
also couetousnesse
of money is to be
q eschewed. *q* For *q* fled.
there is no such a *q* for nothing is of
signe of a base and lo strict and little a
ignoble minde, as courage.
to loue riches:
q nor any thing *q* nothing honest
more *q* honest and *q* commendable.
q noble, then to *q* magnificent.
q despise money, if *q* contemne.

you

¶ employ it vnto.

¶ libertie.

¶ to courageous
men.

¶ Neither verely
[are] empires to be
earnestly desired, &
rather not to be re-
ceiued sometimes,
or now and then to
be layed downe.

* passion or disqui-
etnesse of minde.

you haue it not ; man haue it not, &
[and] if you haue if he haue it, to be-
it, to ¶ bestow it in stowe it in bounty
bountie and libe- and in liberalitie.

ralitie. The desire And secondly, that
likewise of glorie he is to beware of a
is to be taken heed desire of glory: be-
of, as I said before. cause that plucketh
For it plucketh a- from him freedom
way ¶ freedome of of minde, for which
minde, for the all noble spirits
which all conten- ought chiefly to
tion ought to be contend.

¶ amongst men of
worthie spirits.

¶ And indeed we Thirdly, that he do
ought not to seeke not proudly seeke
for rule ; but ra- for soueraintie; but
ther, sometimes ei- sometimes not to
ther not to receiue receiue it being of-
it, or otherwhile fered, otherwhile
to giue it ouer. We to giue it ouer, be-
ing had.

must also bee free Fourthly, that hee
from all * pertur- labour to bee free
bation of minde, from all perturbati-
both from desire, on of minde, as
and feare, and also namely desire, feare,
from

griefe, voluptuous- from *q* griefe, and
 nesse, and angrin- *q* voluptuousnesse, *q* sicknesse of mind.
 nesse; that so hee *q* pleasure of mind.
 may inioye both and angrinnesse;
 trāquillitie of mind *q* that we may in- *q* that quietnesse of
 & also securitie, w^{ch} *q* toy tranquillitie & minde may be pre-
 may bring him securitie, which serued and voidness
 both constancy and may bring both of care.
 a worthy estimati- *q* constancy, and *q* stedfastnesse and
 on. also worthe esti- also dignitie.
 mation.

But many there
 are and haue been,
 Heere he taketh oc- who earnestly de-
 casion to speake of siring that same
 some, who earnest- ly desiring to attain *q* tranquillity of *q* quietnesse.
 ly desiring to attain this tranquillitie, minde, which I
 haue withdrawne speake of, haue
 themselves from *q* withdrawen the- *q* remooued.
 publike busineses, selues from *q* pub- * common affaires
 and betaken them licke busineses, &
 to follow a quiet haue *q* betaken *q* fled or got them-
 life. theselues vnto *q* a *q* idlenesse, quiet-
 quiet life. nesse or ease.

q Amongst these, *q* In these.
 And amongst o- both the noblest
 thers some of the Philosophers, *q* & *q* and far the prin-
 noblest and verie ces or chiefe.
 chief Philosophers, euen the very chief
 [of

others also constant of vpright.

q beare.

q princes,
q some of them.
q fields or desert places, or the fielden countrie.

q matter belonging to their family or priuate businesse.

q The same thing hath bin propounded to these which also [hath bin] to kings.

q that they might not obey any man, that they might vse liberty.

q so as you will.

q of them who are couetous;

* of ruling or to be great.

q with those (whom

[of them] q and indeed both seuer and graue men, could neither endure the manners of the people, nor of the q rulers; & q many of them haue liued in manour places, delighted [onely]

with q their home matters. q These

aymed at the same end, which kings

doe; that they might neede no-

thing. q obey no man, vse their own

libertie: whose property it is, to

liue q as they list. Wherefore, sith

this is common q both to them

who are desirous * of power, q and

those

and some most seuer & graue men, because they could neither indure the manners of the people, nor the rulers, haue chosen to liue in remote and solitary places, delighting themselves onely in their domestical occasions.

Also for these he sheweth what ends they aimed at herein; viz. the same ends which kings do: that is, That they might neede nothing, obey no man, vse their owne liberty, and indeede, liue as they list.

Now both these sorts, viz. both Philosophers and great men ayming at this

tranquillity & freedom from all disturbance; the one sort, viz. the great men think that they can obtaine it, if they can get great wealth; the other, if they can be content with their owne and with a little.

And for these two sorts hee declareth that neither of their opinions are vitterly to be despised.

First, because the life of those who haue betaken themselves to liue privately and quietly, is both more easie & safe, and also lesse grievous and troublesome to others.

But the life of those who apply themselves to government, for the good of the common

those (seeking a quiet I spake) leading the
et life, whome I quiet life [or idle.]
spake of; the one
sorte thinke q that q themselves to bee
they can attaine it, able to obtaine it.
if they haue great
wealth; the other,
if they be content
q with their owne
q and a little. q both.
q and with a little.

q Wherein verely q In which indeed.
the opinion of nei-
ther [of them] q is q is to be contem-
vitterly to be despi- ned altogether.
sed. q For the life

of q those who q But.
haue betaken them, q the idle or free
selves to liue quietly, from great business
ly, is both more
easie & more safe,
and lesse grievous
or troublesome to
others: but [the
life] of them who
haue q applied themselves q fitted themselves
selves for the good to the common-
of the Common-weale.

L weale,

q doe worthily or
goe through with
q fruitfull or bene-
ficiall to the kinde
of men.
q more apt
q greatnesse.

q peraduenture it
may be yeilded to
those not going to
take, &c.
q taken in hand or
meddled with the
commonweale,
viz. to deale in such
matters.

* applied.

q and also to those.

q imbecillity of
their health.

q gone backe [or
departed] from the
common weale.

weale, and to q at-
chieue great mat-
ters, is more q pro-
fitable for man-
kinde, and q fitter
for fame and q ho-
nour. Wherefore
q it may bee that
both they are to
bee borne withall,
who doe not q vn-
dertake the affaires
of the Common-
wealth, who being
of an excellent wit,
haue * given them-
selues wholly to
quietnesse and to
learning: & q also
they who beeing
hindred by q sick-
nesse, or some o-
ther more weighty
cause, haue q retired
themselues from
businesses of the
Common--weale,
when

wealth, or to at-
chieue great maters:
for the same, is
more profitable to
mankinde, and also
more fit for attay-
ning fame and ho-
nour.

Moreover, hee tea-
cheth that many of
the who haue cho-
sen the priuate life
may be borne with-
all in another re-
spect; because bee-
ing of excellent wits
they betake them-
selves to the studie
of learning.

As also such as be-
ing hindred throghe
infirmities of body,
or som other more
weighty cause, haue
left the managing
of the affaires of
the commonwealth
to others.

whenas they *q* yeel- *q* graunted.
 ded vnto others
 both the *** power ** authority or li-*
 and *** praise of ma- *bertie.*
 naging of the same. ** commendation.*

But for them who, *on* But to vvhome
 haue no such occa- there is no such
 sion, and yet with- *q* occasion, if they *q* cause.
 drawe themselues *q* say, *q* that they con *q* themselues to de-
 from publike serui- temne those things *q* pise.
 ces in the common- which most men
 wealth, onely vpon *q* haue in admi- *q* admire
 pretence that they *q* ration, [as] rule &
 contemne those *q* magistracy; *q* to *q* bearing office.
 things which most *q* those I thinke it *q* I thinke it to be
 men so admire, as *q* worthe to be ac- *q* giuen to those not-
 namely rule & ma- counted not onely *q* only not for praise,
 gistracy; hee shew- but also for a fault.
 eth that hee taketh *q* no comendation,
 it to bee not onely *q* but also a fault.
 no commendation
 to them, but a fault
 in them: for that *q* Whose iudgemēt *q* The iudgement
 howsoeuer their *q* it is verie hard to *q* of whom, in that
 iudgement may *q* disallowe, in that *q* they con-
 seeme not to be al- *q* they despise glory, *q* temne glory and
 together disallowed *q* and esteeme it as *q* couit it for nothing,
 for despising glory, *q* nothing. But they *q* is a thing difficult
 yet they may with- *q* seeme to *q* fear the *q* to be done not to
 all bee thought to *q* troubles & griefs *q* allowe or approue.
 feare the troubles *q* *q* thinke.
 and griefes which *q* trauels and.

q offences.

* having repulses.

q are little constant
to themselves.

q broken.

q not constantly
enough.

q magistracies or
gouernments.

q obtained.

q gouerned by
them.

q helps of dispatch
of businesse by
nature.

both of q giuing follow such cal-
offence, and also of lings, as a certaine
repulse, as a cer- reproach and infamie.

taine reproach and
infamie. For there
be [some] who And then giueth
q doe not agree the reason heereof;
with themselves in because some are of
contrarie matters; such a disposition,
who doe most se- as that they agree
uerely contemne not with themselves
pleasures, are more in contrary matters:
tender in griefes, as; who seuerely
regarde not glory, contemning plea-
[and] bee q ouer- sures, cannot yet in-
come with infamie. spising glory, are
yet ouercome with
infamy.

And these
things indeed [they
doe] q very vncon-
stantly. But q of-
fices are to bee
q gotten, and the
Common-wealth

is to be q serued of And therefore bee
them, who haue teacheth that such
q by nature helps men who haue the
of dispatch of busi- best helpes of di-
nesses
sinesse

are rather to sue for
 offices, that they
 may serue the com-
 monwealth, all de-
 laies and excuses set
 aside.
 Because otherwise
 neither can the state
 bee gouerned, nor
 their greatnesse and
 worth declared.
 Moreouer, he shew-
 eth, that all such as
 take vpon them any
 gouernment in the
 common weale, are
 to despise worldly
 things, and to seeke
 after quietnesse of
 minde and security,
 as well as the Philo-
 sophers, or more, if
 that they will not
 bee ouermuch op-
 pressed with cares,
 but liue with graui-
 tie and constancie.

linesse, all lingring
 q set aside. For q cast away.
 therwise neither
 can q the State be q a citie.
 gouerned or the
 greatnesse of cou-
 rage be declared.
 Moreover, both
 a q maiestie and q magnificence.
 q despising of q contempt.
 vworldly things
 (which q I oft re- q I speake of oft.
 peat) also q tran- q quietnesse.
 quillity of minde
 and q security is q voidnesse of care.
 to bee q vsed of q added or practised
 them, who take vp- to them going to
 them [any] go- take the common
 uernment in the wealth.
 Common-weal, no-
 thing lesse then of
 Philosophers, I
 q knowe not whe- q wot not.
 ther [not] q more q yea much more
 also; if so be that I suppose,
 they will not bee
 q ouermuch op- q carefull.
 L 3 pref-

q and.
q leade their life.

q by how much not
to many things in
their life lie open,
which fortune may
strike.

q and by how much
they lesse need ma-
ny things.

q shall fall out.

* enterprises
q meet to be com-
passed.
q them who ma-
nage the common-
weale.

pressed with cares,
q but will q live
with gravity and
constancy. Which
things be so much
more easie to Phi-
losophers, q the
fewer things they
haue in their life,
which fortune may
strike; q and for
that they doe not
stand in neede of
many things, and
also because they
cannot fall so grie-
uously, if any ad-
uersity q betide.

And thereunto they
must strue more
earnestly, because
the fewer things of
the world the Phi-
losophers haue to
lose, the more easie
is it, to despise it;
and also for that
they doe not stand
in neede of so many
things, as the magi-
strate & great man,
neither can fall so
griuously whatso-
euer aduersity doth
betide.

Wherefore, not
without cause, grea-
ter motions of
[their] mindes are
stirred vp, & grea-
ter q matters are q to
bee done by q the
gouernours of the
Common-vveale, then

Likewise, because
such great commā-
ders haue occasi-
ons of greater stir-
rings of their
mindes, and for that
greater matters are
to be don by them,
then by Philoso-
phers: whereupon

they haue neede of
more greatnesse of
courage & freedom
from vexations,

then by them who
liue quietly. And <sup>q the quiet or pri-
uate.</sup> therefore ^{q the}
more greatnesse of ^{q by how much}
courage and free- ^{both greatnesse of}
dome from vexa- ^{courage & freedom}
tions is to be vsed ^{from griefs is more}
of them. Moreo- ^{to be added to these}

Lastly, hee giueth
three caueats to all
that are to atchieue
any great matters.

uer, whosoeuer
commeth ^{q to} at- ^{q to performe a}
chieue any great ^{businesse.}
matter, let him take

1. That they take
heede, they doe not
onely consider, that
the matter bee ho-
nest, but also that
they haue abilitie to
performe it.

heed, 1 That hee
do not only ^{q con-} con- ^{q consider that}
sider, how honest ^{thing.}
the matter is, but
also, ^{q how it may} how it may ^{q how it may haue}
bee discharged. ^{a faculty or abilitie}
^{to be effected.}

2. That they weigh
all things so wisely,
as that they neither
despaire, through
cowardlines of the
effecting thereof,
nor yet be ouer co-
fident through a
greedie desire.

2 In which ^{q thing} thing ^{q same thing,}
^{q a man must con-} a man must con- ^{q it is to bee confi-}
sider, that hee nei- ^{dered.}
ther ^{q despaire tho-} despaire tho- ^{q be out of hope.}
row ^{q cowardli-} cowardli- ^{q sluggishnesse, or}
nesse, ^{q nor bee o-} nor bee o- ^{lacke of courage.}

3. That as in all bu-

uer confident tho- ^{q or trust ouermuch}
row a greedy de-

sire. 3 Also a dili-
gent

q added.

q goe into them or
goe in hand with
them or vndertake
them.

gent preparation is
to be q vſed in all
busineſſes, before
you q goe about
them.

ſineſſes, a man is to
uſe a diligent prepa-
ration; ſo likewiſe,
as the matter is
greater, to be more
carefull therein.

Chap. 26.

The Argument.

q teacheth.

q arguments.

q more valiant.

* in busineſſes be-
longing to the citie
then to the warre.

* martiall feates.

[Tully] q ſhew-
eth by many q rea-
ſons [in this Chap-
ter] that it is q a mat-
ter of greater va-
lour, to excell * in
ciuill then * warlike
affaires, and [ſpeak-
eth] ſomewhat con-
cerning himſelfe.

Heer Tully (about
to teach that to ex-
cel in ciuill affaires,
is no leſſe commen-
dation, then in mar-
tiall exploits, but ra-
ther greater) ſhew-
eth 1. That where-
as moſt men think
the contrary, their

q verie many men.

q things belonging
to war, viz. martiall
feats.

1 B Vt vyhereas
q moſt men
thinke q martiall
affaires to be grea-
ter

opinion is to be cofuted. And this hee doth,

1. By propounding the end which moſt men aime at in war, to wit getting glory and renowne; eſpecially if they bee of high ſtomacks and excellent wits, and withal fitted for chivalrie and deſirous of warfare by nature.

2. By ſundry examples both of the Grecians and Romanes, of city buſi- neſſes which haue bin greater and nobler then the Marti- all.

The firſt whereof is taken from the Athenians, by comparing and prefer-

ter then * ciuil, this opinion is to bee

q altered. For many haue oft times

fought warres, for the deſire of glory;

and that falleth out for moſt parte in

great q ſtomacks and [excellent] wits: and ſo much

the rather, if they be [men] fit for

q chivalry, and de- ſirous of warfare.

q Yet if wee vwill iudge q aright,

there haue beene many q Citie buſi- neſſes greater and

q nobler, then the q marti- all.

1 For although Them- ſto- cles be q rightly

commended, and his name be more famous then [the name]

* citie cauſes or matters.

q diminished or abated.

q mindes or coura- ges.

q military ſerui- ce.

q But.

q truly.

q matters belong- ing to the citie.

q more famous.

q warlike.

q bee commended by right or right- fully or iuſtly.

* Solons.

* famous or noble.

q Judges which determined weightie matters concerning the commonwealth
q this counsell of Solon.

* thought.

* commendable.

q profited or did good once onely.

q shall profit the citie for euer.

q the lawes of the Athenians [are preserved] by this counsell, the institutions of the elders are preserved by this.

q And truly.

name] of * *Solon*; and also *Salamis* be cited [as] a witness of [this] most * glorious victory, which is preferred before the counsell of *Solon*, [even] that whereby hee first ordained the q *Arcopagites*: [yet] q this is to be * adjudged no lesse * praise-worthie then that. I For that q auailed onely once: this q shall for euer doe good to the Citie. q By this counsell the laws of the Athenians, by this the ordinances of [their] ancestours are preserved. q Moreover, *Themistocles* in very deed saide nothing

ring *Solons* counsell for Athens before *Themistocles* victory. That although *Themistocles* bee rightly commended, and his name more famous then *Solons*; and also that the victory of *Themistocles* namely at *Salamis* bee extolled before that worthy counsell of *Solon* whereby he first ordained the *Arcopagites*: Yet hee thinketh that indeede, this is to bee adjudged no lesse praise worthie then that, but more, and that for these reasons;
1. Because that victorie did good to Athens once onely, but this counsell should doe it good perpetually; for that by this, their lawes and the ordinances of their ancestours should bee prefer-

ued inviolable.

Secondly, for that Themistocles said nothing whereby he helped that counsell concerning the Areopagites: but hee was helped by Solon & by them; because that warre was managed by the counsell of the Senate which was obtained by Solon.

The second example, is from the Lacedemonians, in preferring the discipline of Lycurgus the lawgiuer, before the victories of Pausanias & Lysander.

Because although the Empire of the Lacedemonians is thought to haue beene enlarged by their noble exploits yet those are in no part to bee compared to the lawes and discipline of Lycur-

nothing, where-
with hee helped

q Areopagus. But

it is true *q* that The-

mistocles was hel-

ped by * him. For

the vvarre vvas

q maintained by

the *q* aduice of that

Senate which vvas

q ordained by So-

lon. 2 We may say

q the same *q* of

Pausanias and Li-

sander: by whose

q deedes of armes

although *q* the Em-

pire of the Lacede-

demonians

thought to haue

been enlarged;

yet in very deepe

they are [not] to

be *q* compared, no

not in the least part

to the lawes and

* discipline of Ly-

curgus

q the village of

Mars where the

Areopagites sat in

iudgement or

counsell.

q Themistocles

to haue bin helped.

* Solon.

q managed.

q counsell or direc-

tion.

q constituted or

appointed.

q the same thing

q concerning.

q valorous acts.

q the empire is

thought to haue

bin enlarged to the

Lacedemonians.

q compared to the

lawes, &c. not in

the least part.

* order.

q moreouer they
had, &c.

* vpon these occa-
sions.

q prepared or for-
ward.

q more valiant for
these same causes.

q we being children
or when I was a
childe.

q to yelde or giue
place.

q nor Q. C. &c.

q were connerfant
or imploied.

q Q. C. seemed to
giue place, &c.

q weapons or wars
do little auaille.

q counsell.

q an emperour or
commander.

q did profit more

curgus. q Moreo-
uer,* for these same
causes, they had
[their] armies both
more q ready and
q valiant. 3 Nei-
ther indeed q when
wee were children,
Marcus Scaurus

seemed q to be in-
feriour to *Caius*
Marius; q nor
when we q had to
to doe in the Com-
mon——wealth,

q *Quintus Catulus*
to *Cneius Pompei-*
us. For q armes
are of small force
abroad, vnles there
be q good aduice

at home. 3 Nor
Africanus, beeing
both a singular
man, and a worthy
q Captaine, q did
more seruice to the

Com-
gus. Besides that by
the means of these,
they had their ar-
mies more readie
and valiant. A third sort of ex-
amples is taken frō
themselues, in sun-
drie particulars: as
in comparing and
closely preferring
M. Scaurus before
C. Marius; and
more lately, *Quin-*
tus Catulus before
Cneius Pompeius,
the gouernment &
counsell of the one
before the Martiall
acts of the other.
And then giueth
the reason of it. Be-
cause armes are lit-
tle worth abroad,
vnles there be good
counsell at home.

3. By comparing
P. Nasica a priuate
man, to *Africanus*.
That although *A-*
fricanus was indeed
a singular man and
a worthy Captaine,
yet hee did not
more seruice to the

common weale in
taking and razing
Numance, then
Publius Nasica
when he slewe Tib.
Gracchus. And
howbeit that act of
Nasica might seem
not onely ciuill but
martiall, because it
was done by force
and strong hand, yet
it was done by the
counsell of the city
alone without any
armie.

Common wealth
in *q* razing of Nu-
mance, *q* then at
the same time, *Pub-*
lius Nasica a pri-
uate [man] did
when he slew *Tibe-*
rius Gracchus.

q Howbeit this
case indeed is not
onely of a ciuill
consideration. For
it concerneth also
the warlike; be-
cause it was done
by force and by
q strong hand:
yet the very same
was done, by *q* the
counsell of the Ci-

q cutting downe,
destroying, beating
downe or lacking.
q then P. N. being
a priuate [man] did
at the same time
when, &c.

q Although this
thing in truth is not
onely of the dome-
sticall reason, [or a
ciuill matter] for it
toucheth also the
warlike [or belong-
eth to martiall
feats] &c.

q hand.

q citie counsell.

This point hee fur-
ther confirmeth by
a worthie and gene-
ral approued speech
of his owne, how-
soeuer som enuious
and lewde persons
did carpe at him for
it: to wit, this;

tie, without an ar-
my. That also is
q a worthy [speech]
vvherein I heare
q that I am wont
to be *q* taxed of en-
uious and lewde
[per-

q the best.

q me to be wont.
q inuaded, set vpon
or touched.

* Let wars giue
place to peace, let
the laurell branch
[or garland] be
graunted to the
oratour.

q weapons or wars,
because weapons
are a signe of war.

q gowne put for
peace whereof it is
a signe, or for ciuill
magistracy.

q the laurell branch
a signe of eloquence
or a reward thereof.

* passe ouer.

q other[men].

q armed men.

q gowne or magi-
stracy in the citie.

q we gouerning or
when I gouerned.

q a greater perill.

q flidden speedily
out, &c. by our
counsell and dili-
gence fell.

[persons].

* Let q armes
giue place to the
q gowne;

Let the q laurell
yeelde to the [Ora-
tours] tongue.

For, that I may
* omit q others,
did not q armes
yeelde vnto the
q robe, q when we
gouerned the Co-
mon-weale? For
neither was there
euer q a forer dan-
ger nor greater
hatred in the Com-
mon-weale: so that
the very weapons
q slipping forth-
with out of the
hands of the boul-
dest Citizens, fell
[to the ground]
by our counsels &
diligence. q What

Let armes giue
place to the gowne,
the laurel to the O-
ratours tongue.

The truth whereof
he verifieth, instan-
cing in his own ex-
ample, to omit o-
thers.

By an interrogation
to his sonne, as of a
matter notoriously
knowne; viz. whe-
ther in his govern-
ment, armes did
not yeelde to the
robe, whenas
(though there was
neuer forer daunger
nor greater hatred
in the common-
weale: yet the verie
weapons seemed to
fall out of the boul-
dest enemies hands,
all being hushd by
his owne counsell
and diligence.

q Therefore what so

so

Now hee asketh so great an exploit great a matter in
him, what so great I pray you, was e- war was euer done.
an exploit was euer
don in war, or what uer done in warre?
triumph was to bee what triumph [is]
compared with it. to bee compared

And then giueth a [with it?] q For I q For (sonne Mark)
reason of this his may bee bolde to I may boast with
bould glorying you, * who are to
therein; That it was glorie before you be the inheritor or
but vnto him, his sonne Marke; * vn- heyre of my glory
sonne, as vnto who to whom both the and imitator of my
both the inherita- inheritance of this acts.
ce of his glory, & the glory, and also the
imitation of his imitation of [my]
deedes did apper- deeds doth apper-
taine. taine.

And secondly hee In very
declareth further truth, *Cneius Pom-*
the truth heerof by *peius*, a man q a- q flowing full.
the franke testimo- bounding with all
nie & commendati- martiall praises, * gaue me this
on of Cn. Pompei- * attributed this commendation.
us a singular man vnto mee q in the q many hearing.
for all martiall prai- * hearing of ma- * audience.
ses, who ascribed ny, q whenas hee q that he said.
thus much vnto q himselfe to beare
him whenas he said, said, that q hee away in vaine.
That it had been in should in vaine
vaine for him to haue borne away
haue had a third the third triumph,
triumph, but for * vn-

* had he not had

* meanes.

q triumph.

q domesticall fortitudes, or courage at home.

* militarie exploits.

q more labour and study is to be put.

* reputation, credit.

q lofty and great.

* wrought.

q strength.

q so affected.

* vnlesse hee had that hee had a place in the Common-wealth by my * benefit, where hee might q have triumphed.

q Home-valorous acts, then, are not inferior vnto * martiall; wherein also q we are to bestow more labour and studie, then in these. For that

* honestie which we seek by a q haughty and princely courage, is * effected by the q power

of the minde, not of the body. Yet the body must be exercised and q brought into such order, as that it may bee able to obey counsell and become seruicable reason

place in the common weale through Tullies wise government, to inioy the same. Whence hee concludeth, that it is no lesse but euen a greater matter, to excell in ciuill gouernment, then martiall acts: and that therefore we are to bestowe more labour and studie in these then in the other.

And secondly teacheth, that the honour w^{ch} is sought by valour, is achieved chiefly by the power of the mind, and not of the body; although the body must bee brought in order, to become seruicable

to the mind for executing businesses and induring trauel.

But the honour which is sought by ciuill gouernment, doth wholly consist in the care and casting of the minde.

Thirdly, that they bring no lesse commodity who gouerne in peace at home, then they that make war abroad.

And fourthly also, that by the aduice at home, wars are usually ordered and managed abroad, for the attempting, beginning and ending of them.

This hee instanceth in the third Punike war guided by the counsel of M. Cato, which they obeyed euen after his death.

reason, in executing businesses, &

q enduring trauell.

But that honestie

which wee q search

out, doth wholly

consist in the care

and q casting of

the minde. Where-

in they bring no

lesse commodity,

who gouerne the

common--vvealth

q in peace, then

they that make

warre. And there-

fore wars are often-

times either not

q begun, or ended, q vnderaken.

and now and then

attempted, by their

q aduice: as the q counsell,

third q Punicke q war of Carthage.

warre [was] by the

counsell of Mar-

cus Cato: in which

the authority of

M him

q sustaining or abiding trauell.

q search-for, or earnestly require.

q deuising.

q being gowned or robbed.

q counsell, q war of Carthage.

q being dead.

q reason or wisdom of discerning or decreeing is to be desired more, or of.

* ending the warre.
q fortitude of striving.

q flight of fighting.
q for the reason of profit.

q And let war be taken in hand so.

q And tis of a valiant and constant minde.

* resolute.

q troubled in sharp matters.

him prevailed, euen q after his death. Wherefore certainly q wisdom in * determining is rather to be desired, then q valour in fighting. But we must beware, that wee doe it not rather for the q auoiding of warre, then q in regarde of commodity. q And so let warre be taken in hand, that no other thing but peace may seeme to haue beene sought. q It is moreover, indeed a token of a valorus and * constant courage, not to be q disquieted in rough stormes; nor

Whereof hee inferreth, that wisdom in aduising & determining or ending war, is to be preferred before valour in fighting. Yet heerein hee giueth this caution: That we do not aduise for the ending of war, onely for auoiding the present danger and trouble thereof, but for the good of the commonweale. And that warre is neuer to bee taken, as that nothing may seeme to haue bin sought in it, but an honest & safe peace. Lastly, hee noteth one other token of a true valorous and constant courage, viz. for a man not

to bee daunted or nor * making a * vterly out of or-
 disquieted so, as to hurliburly, q' to be der.
 do anything swar- q' to be cast downe
 uing from reason, cast downe from from the degree or
 whatsoeuer dangers his place, as it is staire.
 or euils shall betide; said; but to q' fol- q' vse the counsell of
 but euer to follow low the aduice of a present minde.
 the wise aduice of a present resolution.
 And therefore that on: nor yet to
 he haue not onely q' swarue from * rea- q' depart.
 courage to resolue, son. * wisdom.
 but also an excellent q' this proceedeth q' this is of a [great]
 wit to conceine of from a worthy re- minde or courage,
 whatsoeuer may be solution, that also that also of a great
 likely to fall out; & from an excellent wit.
 so to determine a- wit, q' to cōceiue a- q' to perceiue by ca-
 fore what to doe; forehand of things sting things to
 and neuer to doe a- to come; and to come.
 ny thing, whereof q' determine some- q' appoint.
 he may say, Had I
 wist.
 what before, what
 may q' fall out on q' happen or betide,
 both sides, & what on either part.
 is to be done when
 any thing shall hap q' comait any
 pen, nor to q' doe thing.
 ought that at any q' it should be said I
 time q' a man shold had not thought; or
 say, Had I vvist. had I thought of
 such a matter, I had

q trusting to or leaning vpon.

q to be conuersant rashly in the edge or forefront of the battell.

q skirmish with the enemy with hand

q outrageous or fierce.

q like vnto beasts.

q Bat.

* must preferre death.

q seruitude or bondage.

These are the workes of a great and lofty courage, and q relying vpon prudence & counsell. But q for a man to thrust himselfe rashly into the forefront of the battell, & to q fight with the enemy hand to hande, is a certaine q brutish and q beastly thing.

q Yet when time & necessity doth require, a man must fight hand to hand, and * death is to be preferred before q slavery & shame.

These things hee teacheth to bee the works of a great & worthy courage, guided by prudence and counsell.

But contrarily for a man to thrust himselfe into danger, as into the forefront of the battell, or to fight with the enemy hand to hand rashly & without iust cause, hee counteth it a certaine brutish and beastly thing.

Although when time and necessity doth require it indeede, a man is to fight hand to hand, and to prefer death it selfe before slavery or shame.

Chap. 27.

[Heere bee tea- cheth] *q* that cru- elty and also rash- nesse are unbefitting a worthe stomack. a valorous man. *q* crueltie and also rashnesse [to be] far off frō the dutie of a worthe stomack.

Heere Tully tea- cheth, how valo- rous men are to car- rie themselues in the razing and sac- king of cities.

That they are then to take heed of two faults principally, *viz.* rashnesse, and cruelty.

2. That in the end of all, the victorie being fully gotten, they looke to these three things chiefly: *viz.* to punish the chiefe offenders; to preferue the multi- tude or common sort; and finally, to maintaine right and honesty in ech state and degree.

BVt *q* as concer- ning the ra- zing and sacking of Cities, this is principally to bee considered, that *q* nothing be done *q* not any thing. rashly, nor any thing cruelly. *q* of or touching the ouerturning & spoiling of riches, that is greatly to be considered.

And that *q* is the *q* is [the part] of. cōdition of * a va- * a noble minde. lorous man, *q* in the end of broyles, *q* matters being tossed or ended. to punish the offen-

ders to *q* preferue *q* saue the com- the multitude, to mon sort. *q* maintaine right *q* retaine right and honest things in each fortune. and honestie in e-

M 3 uery

Chap. 28.

q vnder taken of a
valiant man.

*How perils are
to bee q aduentured
by a valiant man.*

q martiall matters
or affaires, to ciuill.

* dangerous.
* subtile.
q counsels.
q more bright.

q cogitations or
counsels.

q we must neuer at
all. *q* commit for
sight of perill.

For as there are
some (as I said
before) who pre-
ferre *q* martiall
prowesse before Ci-
tie businesses: So
you shall find ma-
ny, to whom * po-
rillous and * craf-
ty *q* deuices seeme
q gloriouſer & grea-
ter then quiet *q* cō-
sultations.

I *q* Indeed wee
must neuer *q* so
carry our selues for
auoiding danger,
that

Tully, being heer
about to let downe
some other duties
of valour in warre,
sheweth, that as
there be some such,
as prefer martiall
prowesse before ci-
ty businesses; so
there are many who
thinke subtile and
dangerous plots,
more glorious then
quiet and safe con-
sultations.

And heer teacheth,
1. That wee neuer
so carrie our selues

in war, as that for
auoiding daungers,
wee should seeme
cowards & dastards.

2. That wee neuer
thrust our selues in-
to daungers with-
out iust cause; for
that, that is, of all
other, most foolish.

that wee should

seeme *q* cowardes *q* cowardous, and
and *q* dastards; *q* timorous.

2 *q* Yet *q* we must *q* but.
also take heede of *q* that also is to be
this, that we *q* thrust *q* fed.

not our selues in- *q* that.
to dangers with- *q* offer not our
out cause; then selues to.

which, nothing can
be more foolish.

3. That in dangers
we imitate the cour-
ses of good Physi-
cians, who vse but
light cures in light
diseases; whereas in
more griuious and
desperate diseases,
they are inforced to
vse more desperate
cures.

3 Wherefore in

q attempting dan- *q* going vnto or ad-
gers, *q* wee are to uenturing.
imitate the course *q* the custome [or
of Physicians, *q* guile] of Physicians
is to be imitated.

q who vse light *q* doe lightly cure.
cures to *q* them *q* men being sicke
who are lightly lightly.

diseased; but are
inforced *q* to mi- *q* to vse perillous &
nister dangerous doubtfull cures.

and doubtfull me-
dicines to *q* more *q* forer sicknesses.
griuous diseases.

The contrarie prac-
tise hee sheweth to
bee the part of a

q Therefore in a *q* wherefore to wish
calme to wish *q* an aduerse [or boy-
fore

sterous] tempest in a calme, is of a mad man.

q helpe the tempest [or make shift in a tempest] by any meanes.

q the matter beeing dispatched, then good the matter being doubtfull.

q and the doing of things.

* great attempts.

q are called into daunger.

* reputation and fa-
mour of the peo-
ple.

fore tempest is the part of a mad man;

but to q preuent the danger of the tempest, by all manner of meanes, is the part of a wise man: and so much

the rather if you may obtaine more good, q when the matter is dispatched, then hurt while it is in doubt.

4 q Moreover, the managing of

* things is dangerous partly to the who vndertake, partly to the Com-
mon-weale. And

also some q are brought into hazard of [their] life, others of [their]

* glory, and good-will of [their] Citizens

mad man rather then of one wise; & to bee as if a mariner should in a pleasant calme with a fore tempest; w^{ch} a wise man should by all manner of meanes seek to preuent.

And for this he teacheth, that wee are the rather to labor vnto it; if wee may obtaine more good by it, when the matter is quietly and safely dispatched, the we could whilst it was doubtfull.

4. Whereas the vnder-taking of such may be dangerous partly to them who vndertake them, & partly to the commonweale: also that thereby some hazard their liues, others their glorie, & good will of their citizens; hee teach-

eth for the first, that we are to bee more readie to aduenture of any perill to our selues then to the common weale:

And for the second, that we are to fight more readily for honour and glorie then for other commodities; and so rather to lose life and all, then true glorie. And yet beere hee giueth warning of a great fault in sundry against the former of these two.

That there haue beene many, who though they would readily aduenture not onely their money but euen their verie liues for their countries; yet wold not lose, no not the verie least iot of their owne glorie for the same, although neuer so great dammage should come to it thereby.

zens. We ought therefore to bee

more readie, *q* to aduenture our own

then common perils; and to fight

more readily *q* for honour and glorie,

then for other commodities. But

there *q* haue beene many found, who

q haue been ready to spend not one-

ly [their] *mony, *q* but euen [their]

very life for their Countrey, [& yet]

the same *q* vould not lose, no not

the very least iot of their glorie; no

though the Com-

mon-weale required it: 1 As, Cal-

licratides, who when he was Cap-

q vnto our owne perils then common [dangers.]

q concerning or about honour.

q had.

*substance, *q* but also their life.

q would not make the least losse [or hazard] of their glory, not the common weale requiring.

q egregiously or
very worthily.

q at the last.
q obeyed not the
councell of them

* transport.

q the Lacedemoni-
ans, that nauy being
lost, to be able to
prepare another.

* make forth.

q himsele not to
be able to flie.
q reproach or
shame.
q indeede.

raine of the Lace-
demonians in the
Peloponessian war,
and had done ma-
ny things q very
notably, ouertur-
ned all q in the
end, when he q fol-
lowed not their ad-
uice, who thought
good to * remoue
the Nauie from
Arginuse, and not
to fight vvith
the Athenians.
To whom hee an-
swered, q that the
Lacedemonians,
though they
should lose that
Nauie, might *pre-
pare another,
q [but] that hee
could not fly with-
out his q disho-
nour. And this
was, q no doubt a
q prety

This he confirmeth
by three memora-
ble ensamples:
1. One of Calli-
cratides a famous
captaine of the La-
cedemonians, in the
Peloponessian war:
who hauing there
done many things
verie worthily, yet
in the end ouertur-
ned all vterly here-
by, when he would
needes fight with
the Athenians con-
trary to all aduice,
and aduenture ra-
ther the losse of
their whole flecte
as it came to passe,
then by withdraw-
ing his ships a litle
and auoidmg that
fight, to be thought
to flee with dis-
grace; saying that
although they should
lose their nauy they
might prouide a
nother, but he cold
not flie without his
dishonour.
A second ensample

is of Cleombrotus *q* prety blowe to *q* meane or meetely
another captaine of the Lacedemoni-
the Lacedemonians; *lore plague.*
who vpon the like ans: 2 [but] that
furmise of disgrace, [was] a pestilent
would needes en- *q* plague, whereby *q* blowe.
counter rashly with the *q* power of the *q* wealth.
Epaminōdas; wher- Lacedemonians
in his armie beeing *q* fell flatte to the *q* fell downe or
ouercome hee v- were spent.
terly ouerthrew that
whole estate.

But for the contra- *Cleombrotus* fearing
ry, he sheweth how enuie, had rashly
much better it is, by *q* incountered with *q* skirmished or
one worthie en- *Epaminondas.* How combated.
sample in *Q. Fabius*
Max. who deferring much better [did]
to ioyne battel with *Quintus Fabius*
Anniball vntill hee *Maximus?* Of
sawe that hee was whō *Ennius* [wrote
able to ouercome thus;]

him; howsoeuer by One man hath
delaying hee recei- restored [our] *q* matter or wealth
ued some present *q* State by *q* delay- to vs.
disgrace, yet at
lēgth setting fierce- ing: *q* pausing or pro-
ly vpon him and o- longing of time.

uercomming him. For, hee *q* pre- *q* put not before
recovered eternall mens speeches.
glory to himselfe & before our safety:

safety to his coun- Therefore *q* euer *q* the glorie of the
tre, for which hee the longer his re- man is famous
is so highly extol- nowne both after & more.

q offending or
mifdoing.
q citie businesfes.

* neuer fo good.

q fpeake it.

nowne is more famous. led by Ennius in
verfe.

Which kinde of fault muft alfo
be auoided in ciuill affaires. For
there are [some] who although
that which they thinke, be * the
very beft, yet they dare not q vtter it
for feare of enuy.

Laftly, hee giueth
warning of the like
fault in ciuil affairs:
for that therein fome
dare not vtter their
mindes for feare of
enuy, though they
thinke that which is
the beft.

Chap. 29.

q They that fhall
gouerne the com-
mon weale, let them
altogether [or euer]
keepe two precepts,
&c.

q **W**Hofoeuer shall bee
gouernours in the
Common-weal, let
them euer obferue
two precepts of
Plato. 1 One [is]
that they fo main-
taine the profit of
the

Chap. 29.

Tully here, about
to fet downe some
Duties of ciuill go-
uernours, teacheth
that they muft euer
obferue two pre-
cepts of Plato.

1. That they alwaies
prefer the common

good before their
owne priuate, and
referre all that they
doe, thereunto.

the *q* commons, *q* citizens.

that vvhatsoeuer
they doe, they re-
ferre it thereunto,

q forgetting their
owne priuate com-
modities. *q* forgetfull.

2. That they euer
haue care for the
whole body of the
common wealth;
lest vpholding som
one part, they leaue
the rest destitute.
For the first of these
he sheweth it by the
example of a gardi-
anship: That as it is
to be vsed for their
commoditie who
are committed to
be gouerned, not of
them to whom they
are committed; so it
must be in the com-
monweale.

2. Ano-
ther [is] that they

q haue care for the
whole body of the
q care for or look to

Cōmonweale: lest
whilst they *q* vp-
hold som one part, *q* defend [or main-
taine] any part, they
they leaue the rest
forlake the rest.

destitute. For as

a *q* gardianshippe, *q* wardship or cu-
stodie of a childe.

euen so the *q* go-
uernement of the
q procuracy or
administration.

Common-weale, is
to be *q* vsed to the *q* done.

commoditie of
them who are com-

mitted [to *q* be go-
uerned] and not
q the gouernment
of others.

of them to whom
q it is committed.

q But who so pro-
uide *q* the gouernment
is, &c.
q But they that pro-

For the second hee
confirmeth it by a
dangerous effect
that otherwise may
insue; That proui-
ding for one part

uide for part of the
citizens, and neg-
lect part.

q citie.

q happeneth.

q people-pleasers.
q studious of euerie
best [or greatest]
man.

q fewe of all.

q discord or brea-
ches.

q pestiferous or
fore.

q principalitie or
dominion.

uide for [one] part
of the people, that
they neglect [ano-
ther] part, do bring
in a most pernici-
ous matter into
the Commonweal,

[to wit] sedition
and discord: wher-
upon it q falleth
out, that some
seeme q popular,

some q affectionate
to the nobility,
[but] few to the
whole. Hereup-

on great q dissen-
sions sprang a-
mongst the Athe-

nians; and not on-
ly seditions, but
also q pestilent ci-
uill warres in our

Common-vveale.
Which a graue &
stout citizen, and
worthie of q rule

in

with the neglect of
an other, cause sedi-
tion and discord,
which are most per-
nicious to the com-
monweale.

And moreouer that
some of them seem
popular, others set
to please the nobili-
tie, but fewe that re-
gard the whole.

The mischief bee
manifesteth by par-
ticular instances,
both amongst the
Athenians and them
selues:

That heereupon
great dissensions
sprang among the
Athenians; and not
onely seditions, but
also pestilent ciuill
wars fel out in their
owne commonweale.

Now these things
be teacheth to bee
such, that a graue
and stout citizen, fit
to beare rule will

in

He, and give him-
selfe wholly to the
care of the com-
mon wealth, with-
out hunting either
after riches or
greatnesse; and will
to defend the whole
state, as he may pro-
vide for the good
of each one;

in the Common-
weale, will fly and
hate, and will give
himselfe wholly to
the Commonweal,
neither will hee
q hunt after riches q follow after or
or power; * and pursue.
vwill so defende * but.
q the whole estate q it wholly.
that hee may pro-
vide for all [men.]

Neither in truth
will hee q bring a- q call.

ny man into ha-
tred or enuy by
false accusations;
but will q alwaies so q so cleave altoget-
cleave to iustice ther.
and honestie, that

q so that hee may q so long as, or
maintaine it, hee whilst.

q will q incur the q may.
grievous displea- q grievously of-
fend any one.

sure of any; and
desire death rather,
then forsake those
things

Lastly, hee noteth
this as another pro-
perty of a worthie
magistrate, that hee
will not bring any
into hatred or dis-
grace by false accu-
sations; but contra-
rily will ever so
cleave to iustice &
honestie, as that
he will rather incur
displeasure or dan-
ger, yea even death
it selfe, then leaue
the maintenance &
iust defence therof

things which I
haue spoken of.

Chap. 30.

* That it is contrary to the duty [or condition] of a valiant minde, to contend, &c.
q magnanimous [man] or one of a high minde.

q Ambition no doubt [or verely.]
q honours.

q whereof.

q said.

q them who.

* To contend vehemently about honours, to bee contrary to the dutie of a q valorous minde.

q **A**mbition & In this chapter, Tully teacheth that striving for men of worthe q promotion, is of resolutions, ought to beware of all other most miserable. q Con- ambition, and all bitter concerning which it is promotion & bearing rule, as a thing notably q spoken verie miserable. in the same Plato; This hee teacheth q that they who by two testimonies would contend among themselves, of Plato; whether of them 1. Comparing their should rather rule contentions to the the contentions of mi-

finers struing w^{ch} the Cōmon-weale,
of them should go- q should do q after q to doe.
uerne the ship, & in the same fashion, q temblably or
the meane time in- as if Mariners euen in like maner.
danger all. shold strue, which
of them should

And secondly, di- chiefly * gouerne. * holde [or guide]
recting that wee 2 And the same the helme.
should take them * man hath q Al q commaunded.
onely for enemies raught vs, that we Al. Plato.
who beare armes a- should q take them Al. doth teach.
gainst vs; not those q thinke them ad-
who strue to helpe uersaries.
to preferue the cō- * beare armes a- * take vp armes
monweale by their gainst vs, [and] not or armour.
discretion. those who desire

This later sort of to preferue the Cō-
contention Tully mon-weal by their
approoueth by the q discretion, q as q iudgement or
example of the dis- was the dissension aduice.
sension between P. q what a one the
Africanus and Q. dissension was, &c.
Metellus, which betweene Publius
was for the more Africanus, & Quin-
safe preferuation tus Metellus, with-
of the common out [any] bitter-
weale, without any nelle.
bitternesse.

Chap. 31.

¶ To moderate anger is the property of fortitude, to moderate anger.

¶ indeede.

¶ to be heard.

¶ grievously, exceedingly, vehemently.
¶ at our enemies.

¶ courageous or generous.

¶ worthie or beseeching.

¶ famous man.

¶ easinesse to be appeased, & gentleness

N Either certainly are they **¶** worthie to be heard, who shall hold opinion that we are to be **¶** furiously **¶** angry with our enemies, and doe iudge it the propertie of a

¶ magnanimous and valiant man.

2 For there is nothing more commendable, nothing more seemly for a great and **¶** noble personage, then **¶** placability and

Chap. 31.

Heer Tullie, about to teach that it is the property of true fortitude to moderate anger,

1 Reproueth them as unworthie to be heard, who houlde this opinion, That we are to be exceedingly angry with our enemies, and iudge it to bee the propertie of a valiant man.

2 Sheweth that contrarily nothing is more commendable, nor more be- seeming a great & noble personage, then placabilitie & clemencie.

3 More-

Thirdly, that amōg all free people, and which inioy equalitie of lawe, mildnesse & gentlenesse must be ioined with nobleness of mind. Because otherwise the magistrates, being angry either with such as come at vnfit times, or who are too bould or importunate, fall into testinesse or rage, which is both vnprofitable and odious.

Lastly, giueth this caution, that yet gentlenesse and clemencie are so to be approued of, that severity be also vsed sometimes for the common good, for that without it a citie cannot bee gouerned.

3 Moreover q amongst free people, and q where there is equality of law, there must be vsed also * gentlenesse, and q noblenesse of courage, q as they * call it; lest if wee bee q angry either with [those] q who come out of time, or who aske impudently, we fall into q testinesse [both] vnprofitable and odious. And yet q gentlenesse and clemency * is so to be * approued, that severity be vsed for the q Commonweales sake, without which a Citie cannot be q gouerned.

q in free people or cities.

q in equalitie or equity of lawe.

* mildnesse.

q loftinesse of minde.

q which is said, * teare it.

q anger at either.

q commers vnseasonably, or cruellers without shame
xxx. impudent askers.

q weywardnesse.

q mildnesse and mercy.

* are.

* allowed.

q cause of the common-weale or good of it.

q ordered.

Chap. 32.

¶ wee must temper
our selues especial-
ly from anger in
punishing.

¶ But both all pu-
nishment.

¶ taunting reproch
or contempt.

¶ neither to bee re-
ferred to the com-
moditie of him
who punisheth any.
¶ chastiseth in
words.

¶ behoofe.

¶ lest the punish-
ment be greater
then the fault, and
lest some be puni-
shed for, &c.

¶ be not indeede
called, [or spoken
to.]

¶ We must especi-
ally abstaine from
anger in all kinde
of correction.

¶ **A**LL punish-
ment ought
to bee voide of
¶ contumely; *¶* and
not bee done to
serue his turne who
punisheth or *¶* re-
buketh any, but
to the *commodi-
tie of the Com-
mon-weale. 3 We
must also beware,
¶ that the punish-
ment be not grea-
ter then the fault;
4 And that some
be not punished for
the same causes,
others *¶* not so
much as spoken

In this chapter,
Tully setteth down
certaine Duties to
be obserued in all
maner of correcti-
on: as,

1. That all punish-
ment and chastise-
ment ought to bee
done without con-
tumely, *viz.* without
taunting or bitter
speeches or con-
tempt to the partie
punished.

2. That it bee not
done to serue his
turn onely who in-
flicteth the punish-
ment, but for the
good of the com-
monweale.

3. That there bee
speciall care had,
that the punishment
be not greater then
the fault.

4. That all offen-
ding alike, be pu-

nished alike; & not some punished, others not so much as spoken to.

Lailly, that they who are to punish others doe refrain from anger; and that for this cause chiefly;

Because he that goeth to punish others being angry, can neuer keep the true meane which is betweene too much & too little.

And for this keeping a moderation, he commēdeth the opinion of the Peripateticks, only disliking the for their approbation of angriuesse, affirming it to bee profitably giuen by nature.

But for this passion of angriuesse he teacheth, that it is in all things to bee eschewed: and that it were to be wished, that such as gouern

to. 5 q Likewise,

wee must chiefly refrain from anger

in punishing. For he that * goeth to

punish [others] being angry, shall neuer keepe that

mediocrity which is betweene q too q ouermuch much and too little.

Which q [moderation] pleaseth the * Peripateticians:

and it q liketh them

q rightly, so that

they would not commend angry-

nesse, & say, q that

it is profitably gi-

uen of Nature.

But that [q af-

fection] is in all

* things to be q es-

chewed: and it is

to be wished, that

q such as gouerne

Also anger is to be prohibited [or auoided] in punishing.

* goeth about to take punishment.

q measure.

q too q ouermuch.

q mediocritie.

* Peripateticks.

q pleaseth.

* iustly or well.

q it to be profitably

giuen of nature.

q affection of

angrynesse.

* cases.

q refused.

q they that are ouer

q be like of lawes.
q led or drawne

* wrath.

the Commonweal, the common weale
q be like the lawes; should bee like the
which are q moo- lawes; which pu-
ued to punish not nish, not by angri-
by * angrinelle, but nesse, but onely by
by equitye and iustice,
by equity.

Chap. 33.

It is [the condi-

q of a valorous man tion] q of a noble
q arrogant, disdain- courage, neither to
full, proud. wax q insolent q in

q in prosperous
things, nor to be
cast downe in ad-
uerse.

prosperity, nor to be Tully, here procee-
described in aduer- ding to teach other
sity. conditions of a no-
ble courage, shew-
eth,

q And also let vs flie
greatly pride, dis-
dainfulness, & arro-
gancy in prosperous
things and flowing
to our will.

1. That in prospe-
ritie, and when all
things flowe accor-
ding to a mans wil,
hee is carefully to
shun these vices. viz.
pride, disdain, ar-
rogancie, which v-
tually attend vpon
prosperity & great
courage.
it Because as it is a to,

Moreover, in
prosperity, and when things
flowe euen at our
will, Let vs ear-
nestly fly pride,
disdainfulness and
arrogancy. For as

ken of inconstancy it is *q* a token of *q* a part of inconstancy to beare aduersitie impatiently; so of the other side to vse prosperitie so immoderately, as to fall into these vices.

2. He teacheth that a continuall euennesse kept in all a mans life, and as it were the same countenance, and one manner of cheere, is *q* very commendable, as vvee

This hee proueth, first, by the examples of Socrates & C. Lelius,

Secondly, of Philip king of Macedonia; who howsoever he was inferiour to Alexander his sonne, in valorous acts & glorie: yet for continuall gentlenesse and curtesie was so

q For a continuall euennesse in all a mans life, also the same countenance euer, *q* and one manner of cheere, is *q* very commendable, as vvee haue *q* heard concerning Socrates and concerning Caius Lelius also. I see indeed Philip king of the Macedonians to haue

q famous or notable.

q received.

and concerning Caius Lelius also.

I see indeed Philip king of the Macedonians to haue

q excelled or gone beyonde.

ted by his * sonne * Alexander.

in * valorous acts * noble exploiters, or prowess.

and glory, *q* [yet] *q* to haue bin superiour.

in *q* mildenesse & curtesie to haue *q* facilitie or gentlenesse and humanity been

q great.

q filthie or dishonest.

q giue precepts or teach well.

q that by how much we are superiours [or higher] we carry our selues more submissly by so much.

* demeane.

q Indeed Panetius saith.

q Africanus his hearer [or scholar] to haue bin wont to say.

q are wont.

q to deliuer to tammers [or horsebreakers] horses vaunting with fierceness for their often contentions of battels.

q vse.

* readier.

* heade, headströg.

beene farre superiour. Therefore the one [was] alwaies q noble; the other oft times most q beastly. That they seeme to q aduertise aright, who warne vs, q that the higher we are, the lowlyer wee * carrie our selues. q Panetius reporteth, q that Africanus his hearer & familiar friend, was wont to say, that like as [mē] q vse q to put to riders, horses waxing ouer-fierce for their often fights in bartel, that they may q haue them the * more gentle; even so should men * vnbridled through far superiour vnto him, that he was alwaies noble; whereas Alexander by the contrarie cariage was oft verie base & ignoble, through the vices mentioned. Hence hee gathereth this, as a worthy aduertisemēt; That the higher wee are, the lowlyer we carry our selues. Thirdly, he illustrateth it by the testimonie of Panetius, concerning a speech of Africane his hearer and familiar friende, who was wont to say, and so to vrge this point, by this similitude, That like as men are wōt to put their great horses to riders, to the ende to haue them more gentle, whereas otherwise they would proue ouer fierce, through their often

fights in battel; e- through prosperi-
 uen so men beeing ty, & q ouermuch q trusting too much
 too ynbridled trusting to them- to [or ouerweening
 through an ouer- selues, be brought of] themselves to
 weening of them- as it were, within owe to be brought,
 selues, are to bee as it were, into the
 brought within the the compasse of circuite of &c.
 compasse of reason reason and lear-
 and learning, that ning, that they
 they may through- might thorowly
 ly beholde the frail- beholde q the frail- q weaknesse.
 tie of all the things ty of * humane * the world.
 of this life, and the things, and the
 inconstancie of for- q wauering of for- q varietie or incon-
 tune. tune. q Moreouer, q And also we must
 stancie.

Lastly, he directeth also in our greatest vfe most of all the
 that in our greatest prosperitie, we are counsell of our
 prosperitie wee bee especially to vfe friendes in our
 especially carefull the aduice of our most high prospe-
 to vie the aduice of friends; q and wee q and a greater au-)
 our friends, & then must give them thoritie is to bee
 also to give them greater authoritie also a greater au- given to them then
 ouer vs then ever before, for the free before.
 aduising of vs. fore: and at q those q those same.
 And, of the other- times wee must
 side, to take heede take heede, that
 chiefly at such wee open not our
 times, that wee har- cares to flatterers,
 ken not to flatter- nor

*clawed with flattery.

q to be such as we may be praised by by right.

* arise.

q opinions.

q conuersant [or intangled.]

q in the greatest errors.

q But truly these matters hitherto.

nor suffer our selues to be * flattered, wherein it is an easie thing to be deceiued. For we then thinke our selues q such, that of right wee may be praised: whereof innumerable faults doe * spring; when as men putt vppe with q conceites, are shamefully scorned, and are qvrapped q in verie grosse errors. q But of these matters thus farre.

ners; nor suffer our selues to bee flattered in any case; because it is so easie a matter to be deceiued by them. for that, listning to the, we think our selues worthie of what praise soeuer they giue vs: whereof he sheweth, that innumerable euills doe spring; and namely this, that being putt vp with conceitednesse of our selues, wee are oft times scorned and abused verie shamefully, & wrapped in verie grosse errors.

Chap.

Chap. 34.

*The dutie of a
noble minde in an
honest q priuate
life.*

*q vacation or free-
dome from busi-
nesse.*

Chap. 34.

Tully heer (being
about to teach that
there may be a no-
ble minde, euen in a
priuate life, & some
Duties thereof) de-
clareth first,
That although the
noble acts & which
beseme best the
greatest courages,
are to bee vnderta-
ken by them chief-
ly who gouern the
commonweale, be-
cause their gouern-
ment appertaineth
to the most; yet that
there bee and haue
bin many of noble
mindes who haue
liued a priuate and
a quiet life,
Who would still be
either searching out

THis then is
to be* (so iud-
ged; The greatest
q acts, and of the
greatest courage to
bee q vndertaken
by them, who go-
uerne the Com-
mon-weal; because
their q gouerne-
ment q extendeth
the farthest, and
appertaineth vnto
most. q Yet there
be, and haue been
many of great cou-
rage, euen in the

*q But that.
taken thus, that
the.*

q things or deeds.

q done.

*q administration.
lieth open or rea-
cheth most largely.*

*q And to be, and
haue beene.*

* quiet life, vvho * priuate.

would either q search q trace or trie out.
out

q take in hand.
* enterprises.

q containe,

* placed or set.

q how should busi-
nesse goods dome-
sticall or priuate
estate.

q not heaping it vp
indeed by euery
way.

* barring.

* if at any time
need should re-
quire.

q which substance
of goods.

out or q indeuour or indeuouring some
certain great * mat- great matters, yet
ters, and q keepe keeping themselves
themselves within within the boundes
the bounds of their of their owne cal-
owne businellles; lings & businellles;
or else being * cast Or else being of a
betweene Philoso- middle ranke be-
phers, and those tweene Philoso-
that rule the Com- phers, & thole that
mon-weale, would rule the common-
bee delighted with weale, haue deligh-
their owne q hous- ted themselves with
holde substance; their owne dome-
q not heaping vp sticall affaires and
the same by all ma- estate; not heaping
ner of meanes, nor vp riches by any ma-
* excluding theirs ner of bad means,
from the vse there- nor excluding o-
of; but rather im- thers from the vse
parting it both to thereof; but rather
[their] friends, & imparting their
to the Common- goods both to the
weale, * if there vse of their friends,
should bee neede and of the common
at any time. weale, if there haue
Secondly, he giueth
certaine precepts
concerning the sub-
stance of such.

q Which first let
it

1. That it bee well

gotten, and not by any dishonest or odious game.

2. That they haue it euer in readinesse for the good of all who stand in neede thereof being worthy, and to whom they are more specially bound.

3. That it be increased by discretion, diligence and thrift, & be readie alwaies to be bestowed not on lust and riot, but on liberalitie and bountie.

Lastly, he declareth the benefits of obseruing these precepts; that a man may liue royally, brauely and stoutly; and also honestly & profitably for the life of man.

it be *q* well gotten, *q* by no dishonest nor *q* odious gain.

q Secondly, let it be in readinesse for the good of many, so they be worthy:

q Lastly, let it be increased by *q* discretion, diligence and *q* thrift; *q* and let it not lie open rather to lust and riot, then to liberality and bountie.

q Hee that obserueth these precepts may liue *q* royally, grauely, and *q* stoutly, and also *q* plainly, faithfully, and friendly, *q* for the life of man.

q gotten well, *q* neither by no filthie, &c.

q filthie, *q* then that it sheweth it selfe profitable to verie many, so that worthie.

q afterwards, *q* discretion.

q sparing, *q* neither let it lie, or neither that it lie open to, &c.

q It is lawfull for a man obseruing these precepts to liue, *q* magnifically, &c.

q courageously or stoutly.

q to the life of men

Chap. 35.

The fourth foun-
taine of dutie [11]
Temperance: which
Aristotle thinketh
to be a moderation
of q desires, [viz.]
of those onely which
are q employed a-
bout the pleasures of
the q gullet and of
the groine. A tem-
perate man, quoth
hee, desireth those
things vvhich hee
ought, and as hee
ought, and when hee
ought. The q prin-
cipall point beereof,
is, that the desire o-
bey reason, as the
childe [his] Scholo-
master. From thence
ariseb that q de-
corum, q vvhich,
how

q affections or lusts

q conuersant or oc-
cupied.

q throte, and parts
about the secrets.

q head.

q comlineffe.

q which Tully deli-
uereth diuinely,
how &c.

how it is q derived q drawne.
from nature and o-
ther circumstances,
and q gracesh every q honesty.
* dutie of life, Tully * action.
sets downe diuinely.

Tully, comming to
speak of the fourth
fountaine of Duty,
viz. temperance,
which he calleth the
other part of hone-
stie; sheweth first
what parts it con-
taineth vnder it: to
wit, bashfulnesse &
temperance, which
he termeth to bee a
speciall ornament of
mans life; and with-
al, modesty & calm-
nesse in appeasing
all passions of the
mind, and modera-
tion in keeping a
measure in all
things: and finally
that comelinesse wh^{ch}
is called in Latine
decorum, as it is

IT followeth, that
wee speake of
q one other parte q that one part of
of honesty which honesty remaining.
remayneth, where-
in q bashfulnesse, q shamefastnesse.
and temperance, as
it were a certaine
ornamēt q of mans
life, and also of q of life.
q appeasing of the q quieting of the
passions of the mind, perturbations.
and the measure of
things, is scene.
q In this place is q That [comlines]
contayned that is contained in this
[comlinesse] which place.
may bee called in
Latin *decorum*, for
it

¶ force of this.

¶ But what a difference there is of honestie and comelinesse.

¶ more easily.
¶ vnderstood.
¶ explained.

¶ it then appeareth.
¶ is.

it is called in Greek τὸ πρέπον. The
¶ nature heereof is,
that it cannot bee
separated from honestie: For both
that which becometh is honest, &
also that which is honest becometh.
¶ But what difference is betweene
honestie & comelinesse, may ¶ sooner be
conceiued then ¶ expressed. For whatsoeuer it
is which becometh, ¶ doth then appear,
when honestie ¶ hath gone before.
called in Greek τὸ πρέπον. Secondly, he teacheth the nature of this comelinesse to be such, as that it cannot be separated from honestie: because that which becometh is honest, & that which is honest becometh; But for the difference that is between these two, viz. betweene honestie and comelinesse, that it may sooner be conceiued in our mindes then expressed in words; And that comelinesse doth then onely appear when honestie hath gone before.

Chap.

Chap. 38.

Q Comelinesse is q There is a double : generall ; ble decorum. which consisteth in euery dutie ; and speciall, which properly * followeth to * ariseth of orat-perance. Saint Ambrose saith that tendeth vpon tem- perance. to bee the generall comelinesse, which q is. q ariseth of a q bar-q agreement. moue and q con- cent of all vertues, amongst themselves, and shineth brightly in the q agree- q concord. ment of the q whole q vniuersall world. frame of the vworld: the speciall [to bee that] which shineth in any one parte [thereof] but especially in Tempe- rance.

O There-

Therfore it ap-
 peareth what
 is *q* decent, not
 onely in this parte
 of honesty, where-
 of *q* wee are to dis-
 course in this place
 but also in the
 three former. *q* For
 [as] it is decent
q to vse reason and
 speech discretely,
 and to doe that
 which * you doe,
 considerately, and
 also both *q* to
 espie and maintain
 that which is true,
 in euery matter;
 [also] contrarily
q to erre, to slippe,
 to bee deceived,
 doth as much dis-
 grace, as to dote,
 and to be *q* distract
 in minde. All
 iust

Heere be, proceed-
 ing to handle this
 matter of comli-
 nesse, sheweth,
 1. How in a gene-
 rall maner it apper-
 taineth to euerie
 part of honesty, viz.
 to euerie of the o-
 ther three vertues
 as well as to tempe-
 rance.

And first, how it be-
 logeth to prudence,
 by a comparison.
 Because as it is de-
 cent to vse reason &
 speech discretely, &
 to doe whatsoeuer a
 man doth aduised-
 ly, and withall both
 to espie & to main-
 taine onely that
 which is true in eue-
 rie matter; so con-
 trarily, to erre & to
 be deceived, doth
 as much disgrace as
 to dote or to bee
 distracted in minde.

q becommeth.
q we must dispute.
q for both it be-
 commeth one.
q both.
 * a man should doe
 aduisedly.
q to see and to de-
 fend in euerie mat-
 ter that which is
 true.
q and.
q it doth as much
 disgrace to erre [or
 misse].
q taken [or di-
 straught] in minde.

Secodly, how to iustice: because all iust things are comely; and contrarily all vniust things, as they are dishonest, so they are also vncomely.

And thirdly, for valour: because that which is done manfully and with a valiant courage is comely for a man; & contrarily, what soeuer is done otherwise is dishonest and vncomely. Whence hee concludeth this first point, that this comelinesse appertaineth to each part of honestie; & that so, as it may be seen therein not darkely or in a hidden manner, but openly.

iust things also are comely; and contrariwise all vniust things, as they are dishonest, so they are vncomely.

The nature of valour is like hereunto. For

that which is done manfully and with

a great courage,

seemeth meete for a man, and

comely: and that which [is done]

contrarily, as it is dishonest, euen

so it is vncomely.

Wherefore in truth, this comelinesse,

which I speak of, doth appertaine to

all honestie; and doth so appertaine

[thereunto] that it is seene not in a certaine hidden

There is a like reason of fortitude.

what thing.

that seemeth.

and what.

otherwise.

after a certaine hidden sort.

q may be in readi-
nelle.

q thing that be-
commeth.

q vnderstoode.

q cogitation.

* in verie deede.

* comlinessse and
beautie.

q parted.

q speake.

q also it is indeede
confused or ming-
led.

q cogitation.

q And the.

q double.

manner, but *q* ap-
peareth openly.

For there is a cer-

tain *q* decencie, & Yet so, as that it can

the same is *q* per- hardly be separated

ceiued in euery from the severall

vertue: which may vertues themselves;

be separated from but that it is rather

vertue rather by distinguished, by

q imagination, a mans conceipt;

then *indeed. For, then indeede.

as * beautifulnesse & This hee also illu-

fairenesse of bodie strateth by a fit re-

cannot be *q* sepa- fairenesse of bodie

rated from health; cannot be separated

so this comeliness from health; so nei-

whereof wee *q* in- can be distinguish-

treat, *q* is indeede ed from vertue, but

wholy mixed with onely in our minde

vertue, but is di- and conceipt: be-

stinguished in cause it is so wholy

[ones] minde and mixed therewith.

q conceit. *q* More-

ouer, the descrip-

tion therof is *q* of In the second place

two sorts. he cometh to diuide

both wee *q* vnder- For this comeliness, ma-

king it to be of two

stand

sorts, viz. generall
and speciall, & then
defineth them seue-
rally.

stand a certaine ge-

rall. *q* decorum, *q* meane.

which *q* is in all *q* comlinessse.

honesty; and ano- *q* is conuerfant or

ther *q* vnder this, to doe.

which appertay- *q* subiect to this,

nerth to euery se- viz. a speciall com-

uerall parte of ho- linessse.

nesty. And that

former is wont *q* to

be commonly thus *q* almost or for

defined; *q* That, most part to be de-

that is comely, *q* That thing to be

which is agreeable comly.

to * the excellen- * mans excellency.

cie of man, *q* wher- *q* in which thing.

in his nature * dif- * is different.

fereth from other

living creatures.

q But they de- *q* But which part is

fine that part w^{ch} subiect vnto the ge-

is vnder the gene- nerall, they define

nerall [viz. the spe- it thus, that.

ciall], in such sort,

that they will haue

that to be comely,

which is so agree-

able

And first, for the
generall he sheweth
that it is wont to be
defined thus;

That it is such a
comlinessse as is a-
greeable to the ex-
cellencie of man in
all things; wherein
his nature differeth
from other living
creatures.

The speciall comli-
linessse is that, which
is so agreeable to

able to nature, as nature, as that both
both moderation moderation & tem-
& temperance may perance may appear
appear in it, with in it, with a shewe
of honestie.

* comly appearance

a certaine * honest
shew. [Now] vvee

q thinke.

q these things to
be so, or thus meāt.

q vnderstood.

may q conceiue That the philoso-
q that these things phers did take these
are so q meant things so, he proo-
by the Philoso- ueth it by the testi-
phers, by that monie of the Poets
comeliness which in that comliness
the Poets follow: which they follow:

q moethings are
wont to be, &c.

concerning which
q more is wont to
be spoken in ano-
ther place.

q But then we say.

q But we say that
Poets doe then ob-

q that which is de-
cent.

serue q that grace
which becometh,
when that which is

q worthie or besit-
ting euery person.

q fitting to euery
person, is both
done and said.

As if *Eacus* or
Minos should say;

q Let

Of whom wee say,
That they obserue
a right decorum;
whenas they bring
in euery person
both saying and do-
ing that, which is fit
ting vnto him.

And contrarily that
they should vtterly
misse this decorum

(As for example) if
they should bring
in *Eacus* or *Minos*

speaking

wickedly, it would
be very absurd, be-
cause they were
knowne to bee iust
men;

Let them hate, They shall hate
so that they feare.
Or [this.]

The father him-
selfe is a graue to
his children:

It should seeme
vncomly, because
wee haue heard,

Whereas
bringing in Atreus
so speaking, it wold
be verie comly and
moue a great ap-
plause, because he
was a vile man.

that they were them to haue bin
iust. But Atreus iust.

Also the reason why
they obserue this
decorum is, be-
cause they iudge by
the persons what is
comely for euerie
one.

saying [so,] it applauses [or clap-
ping of hands] are
would cause a great stirred vp.
applause: for it the speech is
is a speech belee- worthie the.
ming the person.

Secondly, he decla-
reth it to be the work
of nature it selfe: be-
cause it hath giuen
man a personage of
great excellencie &
preheminance a-
boue all other li-
uing creatures.

But Poets will
iudge by the per-
son, what is com-
ly for every one.

Moreover, na-
ture it selfe hath
put vpon vs a
personage of great
excellency & pre-
heminance, aboue
all other liuing
crea-

And, a per-
sonage of great ex-
cellency & pre-
heminance, aboue
all other liuing
crea-

q see.

* wicked fort.

q settlednesse.

q shamefastnesse.

q neglect.

* after what maner

q carie.

q men.

it is brought to
pass.

creatures. Wherefore Poets will
q *discerne* in great variety of persons,
what is befitting euen to the * vici-
ous, and what becommeth [them.]

But sith that the parts of * constan-

cie, moderation, temperance, and
q *modestie*, are giuen [vs] by nature,

and seeing that the same nature teacheth vs not to q *be*

carelesse, * how we

q *behaue* our selues

towards q *every*

man; * It cometh

to pass, that it both

appeareth, how

farre that comely-

nesse, which apper-

taines to all ho-

nesty, q *doth* ex-

tend

Whence the Poets will, in great variety of persons, discern what is fitting and what ynfitting to each.

And moreover, for that nature hath giuen vs the seuerall parts of constancie, moderation, temperance and modestie, and teacheth vs withall, that wee bee not carelesse how we behaue our selues towards euery man; it sheweth vs likewise how far that generall comelinesse, which appertaineth to all honestie doth extend it selfe; and also that speciall comeliness,

which is scene in e-
uery feuerall kinde
of vertue.

For the excellencie
of this comlineſſe
kept in euerie acti-
on, and how it win-
neth the approbati-
on of all, he illu-
ſtrateth by a verie
familiar and nota-
ble enſample.

That as the fairneſſe
of the bodie and
comlie proportion
of euerie part moo-
ueth the eies of o-
thers, and delight-
eth them with
the grace appearing
therein; euen ſo a
comlineſſe ſhining
in our life, winneth
the good will and
liking of all with
whom we lue, by
obſeruing order, cō-
ſtancie, and mode-
ration, in all our
words and deeds,

tend it ſelfe, and
alſo q this which
is ſcene in euerie
feuerall kinde of
vertue. For as the
q faireneſſe of the
body, with a fitte
compoſing of q e-
uery parte, doth
moooue the eyes,
and delighteth
[hem] q euen in
this, that all the
parts conſent to-
gether amongſt
themſelues with a
certaine q graces
euen ſo this come-
lineſſe which ſhi-
neth in [our] life,
q winneth * the ap-
probation of thoſe
with whom we lue,
by an order q con-
ſtancie, & * mode-
ration, of all [our]
words and deedes.

q this comlineſſe

q beauty.

q the members or
limmes.

q in this ſame thing

q pleaſant grace or
comlineſſe.

q ſhineth out or
bright.

q mooueth.
* the good liking.

q and.
* meaſure.

q There

¶ Therefore a certaine reuerence is to be giuen.

¶ of euery best [or chiefe] man.

* of the rest of meaner degree.

¶ For it is not onely [the part] of an arrogant man but also dissolute, to neglect what euery one thinketh of him.

¶ retchlesse or out of all order.

¶ that differeth.

¶ In hauing a respect of men.

¶ shamefastnesse.

¶ The parts of iustice are.

¶ not to wrong any by violence.

* to giue offence to
¶ force.

¶ There must be vsed therefore a certaine reuerence towards men, both ¶ to euery one of the best sorte, and also * to others.

¶ For to bee retchlesse what euery one thinketh of him, is not onely a signe of an arrogant body, but also of one altogether ¶ dissolute.

But there is ¶ a certaine difference

¶ In each respect to bee had, betweene iustice & ¶ modestie. ¶ It

is the parte of iustice ¶ to offer men no violence; of modestie, not * to offend [the]; wherein the ¶ nature

Also for the more full accomplishment of this comelinesse, he teacheth moreover that we must vse a certain reuerence towards all sorts, not onely them of higher ranke, but also others of meaner degree. Because this will bring vs a good estimation with all men. Whereas contrarily to bee retchlesse what euery one thinketh of vs, is not onely a signe of an arrogant body, but also of one altogether dissolute.

Lastly, to this purpose he setteth downe a difference betweene iustice & modesty:

That it is the part of iustice not to offer violence to any; but of modesty, not to offend them; & that heerein the nature

ture of comlineſſe is ſcene eſpecially. <sup>ture of comely-
neſſe is q ſcene of q</sup> ^{moſt thoroughly}
^{ſcene.} pecially. Theſe things therefore

And ſo endeth this point, what comlineſſe is; as beeing thus declared ^{q vnderſtood or}
^{plaine.} plaine enough by ^{q what a one that}
^{thing is.} that which hath bin ſaid. ^{q affirmwe to be}
^{decent.} we ſay, to become,

Chap. 37.

^{q Comlineſſe is q} Comlineſſe to be
^{according to nature,}
^{q to auaille.} & q auaileth very
^{much both in all}
^{* parts [of vertue] * kindeſ.}
and eſpecially in Te-
perance.

^q Moreover, ^{q And the dutie}
^{Alſo the} ^{which is.}
^{q drawue from it}
dutie which q pro-
ceedeth from that
[comlineſſe] ^{* harh} ^{* followeth firſt.}
firſt

Chap. 37.

In this chapter T.
ſetteth downe the
efficacie of true cō-

q agreeablenesse.

q goe awrie.

Al. And it both followeth that w^{ch} is.

q sharpe, and quick sighted.

q is agreeable to the fellowship of men.

q vehement.

q force.
q is in this.

q are apt, or besitting nature.

first of all this way, which leadeth vnto the *q* conuenience and preservation of nature: which if wee will followe as a guide, we shall neuer

q erre. And wee shall *q* followe that which is both acute, and witty by nature, and that which *q* serueth firstly for the consociation of men, and also that which is

q forceable & manly. But the greatest *q* efficacy of comeliness, *q* standeth in this parte whereof v^{ce} dispure. For not onely the motions of the body, which *q* agree vnto nature, but

linesse; that it lea-
deth vnto the con-
uenience and prefer-
uation of nature,
beeing agreeable
thereunto: And that
following nature,
we cannot erre; but
wee shall both fol-
low that which is
acute & wittie, viz,
prudence; and that
which serueth for
the increase of hu-
mane societie, to
wit iustice; and like-
wise that which is
truly valorous.

So that he sheweth
that there is a com-
linesse in all these
three parts of ho-
nestie; yet so, as that
the greatest effica-
cie of it consisteth
in this fourth part
of honestie, to wit
in temperance. And
that, because all mo-
tions not onely of

the body, but much more those of the minde, if they be agreeable to nature, are approoued and liked of by all.

but much more the motions of the minde, which are likewise agreeable vnto nature, are to be approoued.

Chap. 38.

The fountaine of all modesty q is, that q to be the appetite obey reason : q And Ambrose thinketh this same to be the q first q primary, or chief

Chap. 38.

Here Tully (about to set out the fountaine of all modestie and comelinesse therein ; to wit that the appetite obey reason) teacheth first, That the motions of the minde which he spake of, are of two sorts: The one sort consisting in appetite, which appetite the

fountaine of all duties.

FOR the power of the mind & of nature q consisteth in two parts.

The one part q consisteth in appetite, q which in Greek is called q is double. q is put or placed in appetite. q which is in Greek

q snatcheth or ha-
leth.

q [consisteth] in
reason.

q fled.

q And.

q be without.

q he cannot giue a
proueable cause.

* almost the defini-
tion.

q effect [or bring
to passe this]

called *οἰσὺν*, which

q pulleth a man
hither and thither.

The other q in rea-
son: which teach-
eth and sheweth
plainly what is to
be done or to bee
q auoided. So it

commeth to passe
that reason ruleth,
and appetite obey-
eth. q Moreover,

euery action ought
to q bee free from
rashnesse and neg-

ligence: neither
indeed [ought a
man] to doe any
thing, wherof q he

is not able to ren-
der a probable
reason. For this is

* in a manner the
* description of

Dutie. Wee must
also q looke to this
that

Grecians call *οἰσὺν*,
which haleth a man
hither or thither.

The other sort con-
sisting in reason:
which reason teach-
eth and sheweth
plainly, what is to
bee done and what
to be auoided.

Wherupon it is that
reason is to rule, ap-
petite to obey.

And thence he shew-
eth that these pro-
perties ought to be
in euery action:

1. That it bee free
from rashnesse and
negligence; and
that so far, as that a
man ought neuer
to doe any thing
wherof hee is not
able to render a pro-
bable reason. For
that this is almost
the definition of
Dutie.

2. That our appetites or willes must neither run before reason through rashnesse, nor leaue the following of it through sloth or cowardlinesse.

3. that our desires and motions must bee quiet & free from all perturbations & passions of minde; and so thereby all constancie and moderation shall plainly appeare.

that our *appetites *desires be ruled by reason, and

neither runne before it *q* through rashnesse, neither

*forsake it, thorow *leauē it.

sloth or *q* cowardlinesse; and that *q* dastardlinesse, or lacke of courage.

they be quiet, and *q* free from all *perturbation of mind. *q* voide of trouble or passion

Whereupon all constancy & *q* moderation shall plainly appeare. For,

vwhat *q* desires *q* appetites, *q* goe too far astray, *q* stray *q* ouerfarre, *q* further.

and as it were insulting too much, either in *q* longing *q* coueting.

after [things] or flying [from them] are not sufficiently staied by reason, these without doubt *q* passe their *q* passe ouer or excede.

bounds and measure, *q* bounde.

Then hee giueth this reason heereof: Because what desires or motions stray ouer far from reason, or are too vehement in longing after any thing or flying from it, those passe their bounds, for

* forsake.

q cast away or set aside.

q Of which motions.

q the mindes are troubled, but also the bodies.

* euen.

* in the verie faces.

q gesture, leap or skip.

q stations or behaviours.

q that is vnderstood

q all appetites to be

sure: for they * leaue that they therein do
and q reiect obedi- not obey reason,
ence, neither yet whereunto they
obey reason, wher- ought to be subiect
unto they are sub- by the lawe of na-
iect by the lawe of ture. And that the
nature. q Where- ariseth the disquiet-
by not onely q the ting not onely of
mindes, but * also the mindes, but of
the bodies are dis- the bodies also.

We may see the * very faces This he proueth by
of angry [men,] experience: giuing
or of those who instance in the sud-
are moued by any daine changes
lust or feare, or wrought in men by
[who] greioice with such voruly moues
and desires.
too great pleasure:

all whose counte- How in angry men
nances, voyces, and those who are
motions, & q stan- vehemently moued
dings are changed. through lust, feare
Of which q this or any tickling ioy,
is gathered (that their verie counte-
wee may retourne nances, voyces, mo-
to the forme of tions and standings
Dutie) q that all are changed. Where-
that all our appe-

appe.

ites are euer to bee restrained & guided according to reason; and that wee must vse all care and diligence, that wee neuer do any thing rashly or at aduventure, nor inconsiderately & negligently.

And lastly, hee further declarcth this euen from nature it selfe: That wee are not bred by nature for play and sport; but rather to seueritie & to great and weightie studies.

And here he taketh occasion to shewe the right manner of sports and play, how wee may vse them aright:

1. For the time; That wee vse them as sleepe and other recreations, onely at such times, when

appetites are to be
 q restrained and q drawne in or
 abated, and q that pluckt in,
 wee must stirre vp allwaged.
 all q care and diligence, that wee q and all heede and
 doe not any thing red vp.
 rashly and at q ad- q venturously or
 uenture, {nor} q in- by chance.
 considerately, and q vnadvisedly.
 negligently. q For q for neither are we
 we are not so bred
 of nature, that we
 should seem to be
 made q for play, q to play.
 and for q sport; q iell.
 but rather to seuer-
 rity, and to cer-
 taine more weigh-
 ty and greater stu-
 dies. And as for
 q play and iesting, q those [viz.] sport
 wee may indeede or iesting.
 vse them, but e-
 nen as [we vse] sleep,
 and other q recre- q rests.
 ations, q at such q then.

P time

g satisfied.

g iesting or pastime
g not immoderate.

* honest.

* merie.

g giue.

g strange from the
actions of honestie.

g let some light of
an honest wit ap-
peare.

time when we have we have dispatched
g dispatched [our] our weightie & ear-
weighty. and ear- nest businesses.
nest businesses. Secondly, for the
And the very ma- manner of them;
ner of [our] g sport That they bee not
ought to be g nei- excelsiue or immo-
ther excelsiue, not dest, but ingenuous
immodest, but * in- and pleasant.
genuous and * plea- This bee teacheth
sant. For as wee by a comparison in
g grant not to chil- an instance of that
dren all libertie of libertie which wee
play, but such as is graunt to children;
not g estranged That as we graunt
from honest exer- not to them liberty
cises: so in our of al maner of play,
very iesting there but onely of such
should appeare playes and sports as
g some light of an are not estranged
honest disposition. from honest exer-
cises; so likewise in
all our owne iesting
and sports, some
light of an honest
disposition should
euer shewe it selfe.

Chap.

Chap. 39.

Chap. 39.

In this chapter T. proceedeth to discourse of iesting & of the maner & vse thereof.

And first, hee diminisheth it, teaching that there is a double kinde of iesting. One verie base, malapart, lewde & filthy; the other elegant, ciuill and pleasant.

This later he commendeth by the testimony of Plautus, in his practice of it, and by other ancient comedies which are generally approved of; and more specially by the bookes of the Socratical Philosophers, which hee sheweth to bee full of it.

And to this kinde of iesting he teacheth that all wittie

Of scurrility and

q pleasantnesse of q witty conceitednesse.

TO be short, there is a

double kinde of iesting:

one *q* base

** malapart, q lewd,*

q filthy: the other

** elegant, ciuill, witty,*

*[and] * pleasant.*

With which

kinde not only our

Plautus, and the

ancient Comedy

of the *q* Athenians,

but also the books

of the ** Socratical*

Philosophers are

** full.* There are

also *q* many witty

speeches of many

men, as those that

q There is altogether a double kinde &c.

q illiberall or homely.

** saucy, wanton.*

q vngracious or wicked.

q bandy or dishonest.

** conceited.*

q Atticks.

** Philosophers of Socrates sect.*

** well stored or full fraught,*

q many things spoken pleasantly and wittily of many men.

q short and witty sentences.

* of an honest and an vn honest iesting. *q* vn honest [or base] is easie.

q be seeming a free man.

q time. *q* with a remisse or a milde minde.

* if vncleannesse of the matter, being increased with filthinesse of words, *q* things.

are gathered by speeches of learned olde *Cato*, which men do appertaine; be called *q* Apothegmes. The difference therfore

of an ingenuous and a *q* homely iest is plaine.

The one is *q* meet for an honest man if it bee done in

q season & *q* mildly: the other is not indeed meete for [any] man, * if vncleannesse of words bee adioyned to the filthinesse of the *q* matter.

as namely those called Apothegmes, gathered by old *Cato* and others.

Thence he concludeth, that the difference between these two kinds, *viz.* betwene an ingenuous and base iest, is plaine;

Also that the one of them, *viz.* an ingenuous iest is befitting an honest man, especially if it bee done in season and mildly; but that the other, *viz.* a base iest, is not at all meete, no not for any man; chiefly, if base & odious matters be vttered, and made worse by base and filthy words,

Chap. 40.

Heere Tully proceedeth to giue directions likewise for our pastimes & recreations; teaching, 1. That there must bee a measure kept euen therein, & that for two speciall causes:

The 1. whereof is: Lest thereby wee should lapish out our goods too excessively.

The second; lest being ouer carried with the pleasure of the recreation wee fall into some kinde of dishonesty.

Second hee directeth what exercises are most commendable and safe for a. voiding these euils: as namely,

1. Exercises of feats of armes, such as were practised in Mars field at Rome
2. Hunting.

Chap. 40.

q That a measure must bee kept euen in honest pastimes. *q To be a certaine measure euen of honest play.*

THere is also a certaine measure of *q* pastime to *q* playing or recreation. be kept, that wee doe not *q* lapish *q* poure out or spend all too much out all too excessively; and beeing *q* ouer merry, slip *q* lift vp with too into some dishonestie. But both our too much pleasure, or too merry. [Martiall] field, & also the exercises of hunting do *q* af- *q* minister vnto vs. forde vs honest examples of *q* pa- *q* playing. stime.

Chap. 41.

The delight of
the minde is to bee
q sought from ho-
nest q exercises: the
pleasure of the body,
because it is * belon-
ging to beasts, is ei-
ther to bee reiected
altogether, or to be
q used very spa-
ringly.

q required.
q studies.

* meete for beasts.

q added most spa-
ringly.

q to euerie question
of dutie,

q in readinesse.

* the nature of cat-
tel.

q the beasts.

BUt it belongs
q to the whole
discourse of Duty,
to haue euermore
q in minde, how
farre the nature of
man exceedeth
* cattell and all o-
ther beasts. For
q they perceiue no-
thing but pleasure,
and are carried
there-

Chap. 41.

Heer he sheweth
the meanes how we
may keepe a mea-
sure in our play and
sports. And this
point hee teacheth
to belong to euerie
question of Dutie.
The first meanes is
this; By hauing e-
uermore in minde,
how far the nature
of man exceedeth
the nature of beasts.
Which he teacheth
to appeare heerein
especially, for that
they perceiue no-
thing but pleasure,
& are carried there-

unto with all violence: whereas contrarily the minde of man is nourished by learning, and is ever searching out some matter by meditating and devising or performing something of more worth; and is evermore led with a delight of seeing or hearing some great matter.

thereunto * with *q* with their whole all violence. But *sway*.
 the minde of man * is nourished by * is fed with learning; and doth *ning*.
 ever either * search * study out or inquire some matter.
 out some matter by devising, or
 doth perform something; and is led with a delight of seeing and hearing.
 Moreover, if there be any one * *som-* * a little more ready
 what too much *q* inclined unto pleasures, so that hee be not of the
 * kinde of beasts * beaſtly kinde.

Secondly, for that (for *q* some there *q* there are certaine.
 it there be any one be [that are] men
 who is by nature not in deede, but
 more inclined to [onely] in name)
 pleasure (if hee be [onely] in name)
 not a verie beast as but if there be any
 some such beasts somewhat *q* lesse *q* erect or lifted vp
 there are who are addicted to plea- from pleasure.
 not men in deede
 but onely in name) lure [then these,]
 al-

carried, overtaken

g appetite.

* modesty or bashfulness.

g it is vnderstood.

g the pleasure, &c. to be.

* befitting.

g and that.

g attributeth somewhat vnto pleasure.

g the measure of enioying it, to be holden diligently of him.

g therefore.

g the diet, &c, must be, &c.

although hee bee
* caught with pleasure,

hee hideth
& dissembleth his
g longing desire of
pleasure, for * shame
fastnesse. Where-

upon g we may ob-
serue, g that the
pleasure of the bo-
dy is not * befee-
ming the excellen-
cy of man; g but

that it ought to be
despised and reie-
cted. But if there
be any man who

g yeeldeth some-
what vnto pleasure
[let him knowe]

g he must very wa-
rily keepe a mea-
sure of enioying
thereof. And g for
that cause, g let the
diet and apparell
of the body be re-

ferred

although hee bee
sometimes too vi-
olently carried af-
ter pleasures, yet for
verie shame hee will
hide and dissemble
his ouerlonging
desire after the same
Whereby he shew-
eth that it is most e-
uident, that verie
nature teaches, that
the pleasures of the
bodie are not be-
seeming the excel-
lencie of man.

A second means, to
keepe a measure in
our pleasures, espe-
cially if we bee too
much giuen therto,
is; So to moderate
our diet and appa-
rell, as that wee vse
them onely so, as
they may bee best

for our health and strength, and not
 for voluptuousness. A third meanes is,
 by considering a right what an excellencie
 and dignitie there is in the nature
 of man: by the due meditation
 whereof, wee shall see plainly, how
 vnbecoming it is for man to
 lauish out all riotously, & to
 liue deliciously & wantonly;
 and contrarily, how comely
 it is to liue frugally, continently,
 sagely and soberly.

ferred to health & strength, not to
 voluptuousness. *q* pleasure.
 Moreover if *q* And also.
 wee will consider what an excellency
 and *Al* dignitie *Al* dignitie of nature
 there is in the nature of man, vvee
 shall vnderstand how vnbecoming
 it is to ** overflowe* ** lauish out in riot*
 in riot, and to liue *or run to riot.*
 deliciously and wantonly; and ** nicely.*
 how *q* comely *q* honest
 thing is is to liue *q* frugally, ** conti-* *q* sparingly.
 nently, *q* sagely [*&*] ** temperately.*
 soberly. *q* leuercly or strictly.

Chap. 42.

The Argument.

Reader, marke
the order: first
[Tully] sheweth [in
this chapter] what
is comely according
to nature * common
with beasts: and
then, what q * ac-
cording to the excel-
lency of man: after-
ward, what becom-
meth q every ones
person, either given
by nature, or im-
posed by chance, or as-
sumed vwith iudge-
ment.

* as it is common.

q [becommeth.]
in regard of.

q the person [or
condition] of euery
one eyther given,
&c.

* aduise or confi-
deration.

q Also we must vn-
derstand.

* haue on vs as it
were [or sustaine]
two persons.

q **WE** must further vnderstand, that we
* are as it vwere
cloa-

Chap. 43.

Tully (still going
on to let out more
fully the nature of
comlinesse, and the
fountaine thereof)
teacheth,

1. That euerie one
 hath by nature, as it
 were two persons.
 The one of them
 common; which is
 in that wee are all
 partakers of reason
 and of that excel-
 lency whereby we
 surmount brute
 beasts: & from this
 hee sheweth that
 both all honestie &
 comelinesse are deri-
 ued, & the way of
 finding out Dutie.
 The other proper:
 to wit, that which is
 properly assigned
 to euerie one in re-
 gard of the speciall
 constitution both
 of his body and
 minde, and therein
 the speciall differen-
 ces amongst men.
 This hee noteth by
 experience,
 1. In the bodies,
 for that we see som
 to excell in swift-
 nesse for running,
 others in strength
 cloathed by nature
 with two * persons: * estates or condi-
 tions.
 vvhereof one is
 common, q there- * of that,
 upon, because wee
 are all partakers
 of reason, and of
 that * excellency, * preheminence
 whereby we q sur- or dignitie,
 mount beasts: frō q excell.
 which all honesty
 and comelinesse is
 q deriued: and out q drawne.
 of which the way of
 finding out of Du-
 tie is sought out.
 q And the other q But.
 [is that] which is
 properly q assigned q attributed.
 to euery one. For
 as there be great
 q differences in bo- q dissimilitudes.
 dies, (for vvee see
 some to q surpasse q preuaile or excell,
 others in swiftnesse
 for q running, * o- q to run.
 thers in strength * some.
 q for

q to wrastle.

q formes, shapes
or faces.

q dignitie to be in
some, comlineffe
in others.

* differences.

q the sonne of Lu-
cius.

q But.

q in the same times

q there was a singu-
lar feueritie in, &c.

q much mirth in
Caius Lelius.

q in Scipio his fa-
miliar.

q for wrastling;

& likewise in q coi-

tenances, q that som

have a maiesty, o-

ther amiablenesse;

so there are in

minde also grea-

ter * varieties.

There was in Lu-

cius *Crassus* and

Lucius Philippus

much pleasantnes;

but greater and

more of set pur-

pose, in *Caius Ca-*

ser q *Lucius* his

sonne. q And q at

the same time,

q there was in

Marcus Scanus

and *Marcus Dru-*

sus being a young

man, a singular

grauitie; q in *Cai-*

us Lelius much

mirth, q in his fa-

miliar friend *Scipio*

greater

for wrastling, some
hauing in their coi-
tenances a maiesty,
others being amia-
ble.

3. By experience in
the mindes, & that
therin also are grea-
ter varieties and dif-
ferences.

This he proueth by
sundry particular
examples, and first,
amongst them-
selues; as,

That there was
much pleasantnesse
of speech in *L. Phi-*
lippus, but greater
and more of sette
purpose in *C. Cesar*
L. his sonne.

Likewise at the
same time, that
there was in *M. Dru-*
sus, though but a
young man, a sin-
gular gravity; much
mirth in *Caius Le-*
lius; In *Scipio* his
familiar friend grea-
ter ambition with
more austeritie.

greater * ambition, * a sadder life. * more seeking of honour.

Secondly, amongst the Grecians, as he had heard by report; As that Socrates was sweete & pleasantly conceited, and also of a merry discourse, an Eironist in all his speech.

Also among the Grecians wee haue

heard of Socrates, to haue been sweet & pleasantly conceited, and of a

merry *q* discourse, *q* speech.

and also [to haue

beene] an *q* * Eironist in al his speech, *q* dissembler.

whom the Grecians named εἰρωνία: * a pleasant flatterer or jiber.

contrariwise *Πιθαγόρας* and *Περικλῆς*

Contrarily, that *Πιθαγόρας* and *Περικλῆς* were of greater esteeme, yet without any mirth at al.

to haue attained

q very great estimation, without a

ny mirth at all. *q* the highest authority.

Wee haue heard

of *Ἡννίβαλ*, *q* of *q* of [the Captains]

the nation of the Carthaginians, to

to haue been *q* subtle, *q* crafty.

Quintus Maximus of our Cap-

taines,

So amongst great Captaines: as, that *Ἡννίβαλ* of Carthage was very subtle; *Q. Maximus* one of their owne Captaines, very cū-

readily to conceale,
holde his peace, dis-
semble, trap, pre-
uent the counsels of
the enemies,

taines *q* to haue
beene very cun-
ning in concealing
matters, in silence,
disimulation, plot-
ting, preventing
the deuices of ene-
mies. In which
kinde the Greekes
preferre *Themistoc-
les* the Athenian
and *Iaso* the Phe-
rean before all o-
ther, and especi-
ally the subtile and
crafty deed of *Sol-*

ning in concealing
his purposes, dissi-
mulation, plotting
and preventing the
deuices of the ene-
my.

And that among
the Grecians, *Thes-
mistocles* the Athe-
nian Captaine, and
Iaso the Pherean
are renowned for
the like.

q who fained him-
selfe to be mad, to
the end his life
might, &c.

* do better seruice
to the commonwealth.
Al. sometime or in
time to come,

lon : *q* who to the
end that his life
might be the safer,
and that he might
* *Al* somewhat more
further the Com-
mon-wealth, fay-
ned himselfe to be
madde. There be
others much vn-
like to these, plaine
and

Finally, that *Solon*
the lawgiuer is fa-
mous for policy; &
namely in that act,
wherein to the end,
that his life might
both be safer, and
he do the better ser-
uice to the common
weale, hee fained
himselfe mad.

Sundry other ex-
amples hee brings

to this purpose not
vnlike to the for-
mer, to shewe the
great variety of dis-
positions amongst
men;

As that there are
some plaine and o-
pen hearted, ene-
mies to all deceipt:

Others who can in-
dure any thing,
serue any man, so
they may obtaine
their desire: as Syl-
la, M. Crassus, and
Lyfander the Lace-
demonian; though
Callicratides, who
succeeded Lyfander
in the admiralty of
the nauie, was of a
contrarie disposi-
tion.

and open: which

thinke *q* that no-
thing ought to be
done secretly, no-
thing by guile, be-
ing louers of truth,
enemies of deceit.

And againe there
be others, who can
endure any thing,

doe seruice to any
man, so that they
may obtaine what

they desire: as

we saw *Sylla* and

Marcus Crassus.

In which kinde we
haue heard of *Ly-*

fander the Lacede-
monian to haue

beeie most subtile
and *q* most able to

endure any thing;
and contrariwise

Callicratides, who

vvas Admirall of
the Navy next af-
ter

q nothing to be
done, [as] of a se-
cret plot, by laying
in waite.

* aime at

q most patient.

¶ we see another
man to effect by
[his] speeches.

¶ of great authori-
tie.

¶ of many.

¶ obserued.

¶ in the sonne.

¶ the same thing
to haue bin.

¶ his father, euen
him.

ter *Lysander*. And likewise in speech we see indeed another man, although he be very mighty, yet so to order the matter, that hee may seeme to be [but] one of the common sort. Which thing we haue seen both in *Catulus* the father, & in the sonne, and also in *Quintus Mutius Mancinus*. I haue heard also of [mine] ancestours, that the same was in *Publius Scipio Nasica*; And contrarily that his father, euen who auenged the mischicuous enterprises of *Tiberius* speech at all.

Others excelling in curtesie of speech, and in affabilitie; so as though they were verie great men, yet could frame themselves to the common sort, so as to winne the hearts of all; like as they had scene in the *Catuli* both in the father and the sonne, and also in *Quintus Mutius Mancinus*.

The like hee sheweth to haue bin reported of *P. Scipio Nasica*, tho his father, otherwise a worthie man (as who auenged the mischicuous enterprises of *Tiberius Gracchus*) yet had no affabilitie of

GRAC-

No nor Xenocrates
who was the verie
sagest of al the Phi-
losophers, and for
that cause a great &
famous man.

And thus hee shew-
eth that there are
innumerable diuer-
sities of natures and
dispositions: yet
not to be dispraised.

Now in these seue-
rall varieties and all
other hee giueth
this rule;

That euerie ones
owne proper gifts
are carefully to bee
maintained; though
not any such quali-
ties as are vicious,
yet all such gifts as
are naturall, and
whereby that com-
lineffe which wee
seeke may be retain-
ed more easily.

thus, q had no af-
fability of speech:

no nor indeede
Xenocrates q vvhoo
was the sagest of
all the Philoso-
phers, and for that

very cause q both
great and famous.

Innumerable other
diuersities there be
of nature and ma-
ners, yet not at

all to bee disprai-
sed. But every

mans owne q [gifts] q things
are q carefully to be

maintained; [tho]
not such as

are * vicious, q yet * faulty.

those vvhich are q but yet the pro
naturall, whereby per.

that comelineffe
which we doe seek

may bee more ea-
sily retained. For

we must so deale,

q to haue had no
gentle [or curte-
ous] maner of
speech, or no plea-
sing grace.

q being the most
leure of the Phi-
losophers.

q to haue bin both
&c.

q verie greatly to
be defended.

q but yet the pro

q

q

q

that wee contend And so long as wee
 not at all against strue not against
 y^e tharnature which that nature which
 is vniuersall: yet is vniuersall, that
 that being preser- each of vs follow
 ued, let vs euer our own proper na-
 one follow our ture.
 own proper nature; Whence hee teach-
 [So] that although eth this as a Second
 there bee y^e other lesson; That al-
 grauer and better though there might
 studies, yet y^e wee be other grauer &
 measure y^e our own better studies to be
 by the rule of Na- followed of vs, yet
 ture. For neither that we are to mea-
 y^e is it to any pur- sure & limit our stu-
 pose to fight a- dies by the rule of
 gainst Nature, nor nature, to doe no-
 to y^e ensue any thing against it.
 thing which you Because it doth not
 cannot attaine. auale to fight a-
 gainst nature; or to
 pursue any thing,
 w^{ch} we haue no hope
 by nature to attain.

Whereupon it
 more appeareth
 y^e what manner of And that heereup-
 thing this comeli- on it appeareth
 nelle is: sith that more fully wherein
 nothing becom- true comelines con-
 meth, sisteth; that we do

y^e the vniuersall na-
 ture, or belonging
 to all.

y^e other studies
 more weightie, &c.
 y^e let vs measure.
 y^e owne studies.

y^e aualeth it to resist
 nature.

y^e follow.

y^e of what sort.

not any thing as it were, against nature; but onely that whereto we are fitted by it.

meth, *q* maugre *q* *Miseria* *q* *god-*
delic of wisdom
 as they
 use to say: that is,
 * nature withstan-
 ding and resisting.

q *Miseria* *q* *god-*
delic of wisdom
 and all good scien-
 ces being unwilling
 * against nature.

Because, if wee ever follow nature, wee shal be able to keep an even and a constant course, both of our whole life, & of everie action; then which there is nothing more comely: whereas if wee imitate the nature of other men omitting our owne, wee cannot keepe that evenesse which we ought.

And verely if there be anything comely, certainly there is nothing more, then any even and constant course of our whole life * and of every action: which you cannot keep, if you imitate the nature of other men, [and]

q If there be any thing at all.
q euennesse.
 * carriage.
 and also.
 * follow.

This hee walketh plaine by a certaine similitude: That as wee are to use that speech onely, which is known vnto vs, lest chopping in Greeke or other strange words (as some do) we be worthily scoffed at; wee

omit your owne. For as wee ought to use that speech which is knowne vnto vs, lest chopping in [certaine] Greeke words, as some [use to doe] bee worthily

* let passe.
 * kind of speech.
q inculcating, thrusting in or beating vpon, or repeating now and then.

q the vniuersall nature, or belonging to all.

q other studies more weightie, &c.
q let vs measure.
q owne studies.

q auaieth it to resist nature.

q follow.

q of what sort.

that wee contend not at all against that nature which is vniuersall: yet that being preserved, let vs euerie one follow our owne proper nature;

[So] that although there bee q other grauer and better studies, yet q wee measure q our owne by the rule of Nature. For neither

q is it to any purpose to fight against Nature, nor to q ensue any thing which you cannot attaine.

Whereupon it more appeareth q what manner of thing this comeliness is: sith that nothing becometh,

And so long as wee strue not against that nature which is vniuersall, that each of vs follow our owne proper nature.

Whence hee teacheth this as a second lesson; That although there might be other grauer & better studies to be followed of vs, yet that we are to measure & limit our studies by the rule of nature, to doe nothing against it.

Because it doth not auaieth to fight against nature; or to pursue any thing, w^{ch} we haue no hope by nature to attain.

And that heereupon it appeareth more fully wherein true comeliness consisteth; that we do

not any thing as it
were, against na-
ture; but onely that
whereto we are sit-
ted by it.

meth, *q* maugre *q* Minerva, as they
use to say: that is,
* nature withstan-
ding and resisting.

q Minerva is god-
desse of wisdom
and all good scien-
cestieing & willing
* against nature.

Because, if wee every
follow nature, wee
shal be able to keep
in even and a con-
stant course, both
of our whole life, &
of everie action;
then which there is
nothing more com-
ly: whereas if wee
mimate the nature
of other men omit-
ting our owne, wee
cannot keepe that
evennesse which we
ought.

And verely if
there be any thing
comely, certainly
there is nothing
more, then any e-
uen and constant
course of our
whole life * and of
every action:
which you cannot
keep, if you * imi-
tate the nature of
other men, [and]

q If there be any
thing at all.

q euennesse.

* carriage.
and also.

* follow.

* let passe.

This bee maketh
plaine by a certaine
similitude:

omit your owne.
For as wee ought
to vse that * speech
which is knowe
vnmove, lest *q* chop-
ping in [certaine]
Greeke words, as
some [vse to doe]
wee bee worthily

* kind of speech.

q inculcating, thru-
sting in or beating
vpon, or repeating
now and then.

That as wee are to
vse that speech one-
ly, which is known
vnmove, lest chop-
ping in Greeke or
other strange words:
(as some do) wee be
worthily scoffed at; wee

q mocked or
laughed at by verie
good right.

q so we ought to
bring no disagrec-
ment [or variance]
into our actions
and all our life.

q force.

q to procure death
to himselfe, viz. to
kill himselfe.

* quarrell.

* for M. Cato.
was not in one
quarrell, the rest in
another &c.

q giuen [or impu-
ted] for a fault [or
a reproach] to the
rest.

q killed.

q scoffed at: q so
wee should shew
no contrariety in
our doings or in
our whole life.

And this diffe-
rence of natures
hath so great
q power, that som-
times one man

ought q to procure
his owne death,
another ought not,
in the same * cause.

* For was *Marcus*
Cato in one q quar-
rell, the rest which
yielded themselves

to *Cesar* in Africk,
in another? Yet
peraduenture it
had beene q ac-
counted for a fault
in the rest, if they
had q slaine them-
selves, because
their life had been

* more

so wee are to keepe
an euennesse in all
our actions & our
whole life, that no
contrarietie appear
at all,

Again, he teacheth
that the differences
of natures are of so
great power, that
that may bee com-
mendable in one,
which should bee
faulty in another.

As for example: that
one man ought to
lay violent handes
vpon himselfe, wh^{ch}
should be reprove-
able in others in the
same cause.

This hee instanceth
in M. Cato slaying
himself, rather then
to yeeld vp himself
to *Cesar* in Africke
as others did; wher-
as it had bin faultie
in the rest of them,
to haue done the
like, because their
liues had bin more

pleasant, and their * more pleasant, & * lesse austere.
 maners more mild: their maners more
 yet in him it is com- q milde. But when- q easie.
 mended, for that he as Nature had gi-
 was of such an vn- uen vnto *Cato* an
 credible grauitie uen vnto *Cato* an
 by nature, and had incredible grauity;
 confirmed the same and himselfe had
 by perpetuall con- q confirmed the q strengthened.
 stancie, and also had same by a perpetu-
 euer remained in all constancy, and
 this determinate re- euer remained in
 solution, that hee his q intent and
 would rather die, determined pur- q purpose & coun-
 then behould the sell taken to die ra-
 tyrants face. ther, then that the
 face of the tyrant
 was to be looked
 on.

2. In comparing the faults of *Vlysses* and *Ajax* together:
 That whereas this beheld the tyrants face.
 was an honour to face.
Vlysses to haue in- How many things
 dured the things w^{ch} q endured *Vlysses* q suffered.
 he did, in his long in that q long tra- q long continued
 trauels, and that he uell, when he both wandering.
 had beene able to q did service vnto q serued or became
 yeelde himselfe to women (if *Circe* seruiceable.
 do seruice to wo- and *Calipso* are to
 men, as to *Circe* & be named women)
Calipso, (if they and desired to shew
 were worthie to be himselfe * affable * faire spoken.
 named women) & to shew himselfe so
 to shew himselfe so affable & courteous

q indured the spite-
full taunts of, &c. at
home.

* reproachfull or
spitefull speeches.
q seruants & hand-
maids or wenches.
* once.

q with what cou-
rage he is reported.

* times.

q which things wee
beholding.

q meete.

* what gifts.

q neither to be defi-
rous to trie.

and courteous to to all; yea after his
all men, in all his returne home, so to
speech? and also indure the contra-
q at home endu- mely of slaues and
red the * contume- wenches, to the end
lies of q slaues and that hee might at-
girtles; that hee taine to that which
might * at length he desired: yet con-
atrine to that trarily this is Ajax
which hee desired. his honour, that he
But *Ajax* (q being being of an uncon-
of that courage querable courage
which is reported) by nature, had ra-
had rather die a ther die a thousand
thousand * deaths, then to en-
then to endure dure such contume-
those things of a lies or iniuries from
nother man. any.

q Which diuersi-
ties when wee be-
holde, it shall bee

q necessarie to Hence hee conclu-
weigh, * what ech- ded, that we are ne-
one hath of his cessarily to weigh
owne, and to or what gifts each of
der those arights vs hath properly, &
q and not to haue to vse the same a-
rights; and not to

have a desire to trie
how other mens
gifts would become
vs: because that e-
specially becometh
euerie one, which
most properly be-
longeth vnto him
And secondly, hee
aduiseth each man
to knowe his owne
disposition, and to
shew himselfe a sharp
iudge of his owne
vertues and vices:
and so to chuse and
follow that course
which is fittest for
him.

This also hee voucheth
by a reason taken
from players: Lest
they should seeme
to haue more discre-
tion heerein, then
wee.

Because they chuse
not the best inter-
lude to act: but
those that are fittest
for them, in regard
of their pronun-
ciation.

a desire to try, how
q other mens gra-
ces would become
him. * For that
especially becom-
meth each man,
which is most of
all q every ones
owne. q Let every
man therefore
knowe his owne
disposition: and
let him shew him-
selfe a sharp iudge
both of his owne
vices, & q vertues:
lest q players may
seem to haue more
q discretion then
we. For they chuse
not the best q en-
terhudes, but the
fittest for them-
selues. They that
relye vpon their
pronunciation
chuse Epigonus and

Medea.

q other mens
things may become.

* for euery ones
proper gifts do
most of all become
him.

q the owne of
euerie one.

q Therefore let, &c.

* make.

q good things.
q players in come-
dies & enterhudes.

q wisdom.

q comedies.

* inioy [or delight
in] their voice, viz.
who haue excellent
voice..

Medea. They tion, or gesture, and
 [who relie vpon which they can per-
 their] gesture, forme the best; as
 q chuse. q [take] *Menalippa*, bee sheweth in sun-
 or *Citernestra*. drie particulars:
Rutilius, whom I
 remember, euer
 q chused. q [made choyce
 of] *Antiope*; *Esop* Whence bee infer-
 q not often. q very seldome reth againe what an
 [chused] *Aiax*. absurd thing this is,
 Shall a player then that a player should
 see this in the stage see that on the
 which a wise man stage, which a wise
 shall not see in his man cannot in his
 life? q We are ther- And so shu ttreth
 fore q to labour es- vp this point, That
 pecially in those we are chiefly to la-
 things, whereunto bor in those things
 wee shall bee most whereunto wee are
 apt. But if at any most apt.
 time necessitie shal Yet here he giueth
 q inforce vs vnto two cautions.
 those things, which 1. That if at any
 shall not bee q fit time necessitie shall
 for our disposition, inforce vs vnto
 q all care, meditati- those things to wh
 ch we must vse all we are not apt by na-
 care ture; that then wee
 specially vse all care,

q Therefore vnto
 what things we
 shall be most, &c.
 q we shall labour
 chiefly in those.

q thrust vs forth or
 driue vs.

q of our wit.

meditation and diligence that we may performe them, if not comelily, yet with as little vncomelie as may be. care, meditation & diligence, that wee may q performe them, if not comelily, yet q with as little vncomelie as may be. q doe. q as little vncomelie as may be.

1. That we do not so much indeuour to attaine the vertues to which wee haue no aptnesse by nature; as to shun those vices to which wee are by nature strongly inclined. [as may be.] Neither ought wee so much to endea- uour ourselues q to follow the vertues which are not gi- uen vnto vs, as q that we may fol- low. q that we may shie the vices.

Chap. 43.

The Argument.

Comelineffe from those things, which fortune hath giuen vs, or vvhich wee haue gotten by our owne q gotten to our selues. q iudgement. q More-

q And there is a
third person adioyn-
ned vnto those two,
&c.

q above.

q putteth or casteth
on vs.

q fashion or frame.

q iudgements.

q nobilities.

q wealth.

q being placed in
fortune [or in the
power of fortune]
q are governed by
the times.

q will.

* what calling we
will follow.

q will.

q **M**oreouer, vnto those two persons which I spake of before, a third person is adioyned wth some chance or time q imposeth [on vs.]. And ab so a fourth which wee shall q fit vnto our selues after our owne q mind. For kingdomes, empires, q nobility, honours, riches, q power, and those which are contrary to these, q consist- ing on fortune, q are ordered ac- cording to the times. But it pro- ceedeth from our owne q free will, * what person wee q list to beare.

In this chapter Tully teacheth, that besides those two persons spoken of before, which eue- rie one hath by na- ture, we haue other two also, The first whereof is that, which euerie one hath imposed vpon him, by some chance, or in regard of the times: as to bee Kings, Empe- rours, nobles, hono- rable, rich, mightie and the like, or such as are contrarie to these: which as they consist in fortune, so are they ordered ac- cording to the times. The later is that which wee fit vnto our selues, accor- ding to our iudge- ment applying our selues thereunto; for that it procee- deth from our owne will, what course of life we will follow.

And

Hence are the di- And therefore som
vers studies of apply themselves
men; that some ap- vnto Philosophy.
plie themselves to: others the Ciuill
Philosophie, others to the ciuill lawe,
to the ciuill lawe, lawe, others elo-
others to eloquence, quence: and *q* some
and that one choo- one chusethe to *q* another or some
seth to excell in had rather.
some one of these
excell in one of those
vertues, another in
another.

More specially, that
those whose fathers
or auncestors haue
bin famous for any
kind of glorie, doe
for most part studie
to excell in the
same: as *Q. Muti-*
us Publ. his sonne
in chiuallrie.
And therefore som
whose fathers or
auncestors *q* haue
beene famous in *q* haue excelled or
any kinde of glo- bin notable in any
rie, ** most of theirs* commendation
doe study to excell theirs for the
in the same kinde most part.
of *q* commendations *q* praise.
as *Quintus Muci-*
us q. Publius his *q* the son of Publius
sonne [did] in the
Ciuill lawe: *Astus*
canus q. Paulus his *q* the son of Paulus.
sonne, *q* in chiuall *q* militarie businesse
rie, *Alto q. diuers* *q* or teats of armes.
doe adde some *q* of *q* certaine or sundry
their owne vnto *q* some their owne
those

* auncetors.

¶ Timotheus Conons sonne did,
* whereas.

¶ then his father.
¶ the praise.
¶ added.

¶ commeth to pass.
¶ the imitation of
parents being o-
mitted or let passe.

¶ trade or determi-
nation.

those praises; w^{ch} glorie of their aunc-
they haue receiued cessors : as hee in-
from their * fa- stanceth in Affrica-
thers : as this same nus that hee increa-
Africanus increa- sed his martiall glo-
sed his martiall ry by his eloquences
glory by [his] elo- and in Timotheus
quence. Which Conous sonne who
selfe same thing by his wit and lear-
¶ did also *Timothe- ning* augmented the
us Conons sonne: renowne which hee
who * whenas hee had receiued from
was not inferiour his auncetors by
¶ to his father in their martiall prai-
¶ praises of warre, ses.
yet * adioyned vn-
to that commen-
dation the glory
of learning & wit.
Sometimes also it
¶ falleth out, that
certaine ¶ hauing
omitted the imita-
tion of their pa- And moreouer, that
rents, follow some certaine leauing the
¶ course of their imitation of their
owne; and those parents follow som
espe- course of their own;
and especially they

who borne of ob- especially travell
scure parents, yet therein for most
propounde vnto part, who beeing
themselves great borne of *q* obscure *q* scarce knowne
matters, * pro- or base.
* appoint to at-
tempt.
* enterprises.
pound vnto them-
selves great * mat-
ters. Therefore

And thus hee con- when we seek what
cludeth, that when things *q* are come- *q* do become.
wee seeke what is ly, wee ought to
comely, wee ought *q* cast all these in *q* comprehend.
to think of all these *q* thought.
things. our minde & *q* co-
gitation.

Chap. 44.

*Wee must deter-
mine the kinde and
q course of our life. q purpose or ap-
pointment.*

Chap. 44.

Heere T. proce-
deth to teach, how
to determine of the
course of our life,

BVe first of all
wee must de-
termine whom and
what manner of
men

* be.
 q in.

* consultation or
 aduice.

q youth which is
 from 12. or 14. to
 25. or 30.

q to which the
 greatest weaknesse
 of counsell is.

q most slenderes.
 q determineth.

q passing his age
 or liuing.

q he hath loued
 most of all.

q then.
 q could.

q that Prodicus saith
 q Hercules.

men wee vould which euerie one is
 * haue our selues, to follow as most
 and q of what kind fir for him.
 of life: Which * de- And first he sheweth
 liberation is the that this deliberati-
 hardest of all o- on is exceeding
 ther. For in the hard in regarde of
 entrance into the the time, when men
 q youthfull time, are to determine
 q wherein there is hereof.
 the greatest weak- Because they are to
 nesse of counsell, resolu of it in the
 then every man venter entrance in-
 q appointeth vnto to their youthfull
 himselfe that kind age; at what time
 of q life, which he they are at the wea-
 q chiefly liketh. kest for counsell &
 And therefore hee iudgen et to deter-
 is entangled with mine aright: and so
 some certaine kind each followeth that
 and course of li- which he liketh or
 uing, before q that fancieth to himself
 hee q bee able to without any ground-
 iudge, what should ed reason. Where-
 be best. For q wher- upon it commeth
 as Prodicus saith, to passe that they
 q that Hercules sae haue intangled the-
 it were the best: selues with some
 And that howsoe- certaine course of
 uer Hercules sae life, before they are
 able to iudge what

Xenophon reporteth) it is in Xenophon)
 at this age of youth, when he began to come to mans estate, going into a desert place, and there beholding two waies, the one the way of pleasure, the other of vertue, & after long deliberating with himselfe whether of them he should take, made choice of the better; viz. the way of vertue:
 so soone as he began to come to mans estate, (which time is granted by nature, to chuse what way of liuing every man will enter) q began to haue a beard, or came to maturitie or ripenesse of yeares.
 q course or trade of life each will follow
 q to haue gone forth.
 q a desert place, or wilde-nesse.
 q long and much with himselfe.

Yet, this hee thinketh might befall to Hercules being sprung of the seed of Iupiter, & so of a diuine understanding and iudgement: but that there is not any hope that any of vs should make such a choice.
 whether of them it q were better to q should be.
 enter into.
 This peradoen-
 sure might hap-
 pen vnto Hercules
 being q borne q bred of the seede of Iupiters
 seede; of Iupiter.
 but not so to vs,
 who

* be.
q in.

* consultation or
advice.

q youth which is
from 12. or 14. to
25. or 30.

q to which the
greatest weaknesse
of counsell is.

q most slenderneſſe.
q determineth.

q paſſing his age
or living.

q he hath loued
moſt of all.

q then.
q could.

q that Prodicus ſaith
q Hercules.

men wee vould which euerie one is
* haue our ſelues, to follow as moſt
and q of what kind firſt for him.
of his: Which * de And firſt he ſheweth
liberation is the that this deliberati-
hardeſt of all o. on is exceeding
ther. For in the hard in regarde of
entrance into the the time, when men
q youthfull time, are to determine
q wherein there is hercof.
the greateſt weak- Because they are to
neſſe of counsell; reſolue of it in the
then every man verie entrance in-
q appointeth vnto to their youthfull
himſelfe that kind age; at what time
of q life, which he they are at the wea-
q chiefly liketh. keſt for counsell &
And therefore hee iudge ſet to deter-
is entangled with mine aright: and ſo
ſome certaine kind each followeth that
and courſe of li- which he liketh or
uing, before q that fancieth to himſelf
hee q bee able to without any ground-
iudge, what ſhould ed reaſon. Where-
be beſt. For q wher- upon it commeth
as Prodicus ſaith, to paſſe that they
q that Hercules ſa- haue intangled the-
it uer Hercules (as ſelues with ſome
certaine courſe of
life, before they are
able to iudge what
were the beſt:
And that howſoe-
uer Hercules (as

Xenophon report. it is in Xenophon)
 (teth) at this age of youth, when he began to come to mans estate, going into a desert place, and there beholding two waies, the one the way of pleasure, the other of vertue, & after long deliberating with himselfe whether of them he should take, made choice of the better; viz. the way of vertue:

so soone as he began to come to mans estate, (which time is granted by nature, to chuse what way of liuing every man will enter) he went forth into a desert place, and sitting there, doubted long with himselfe and much, when he beheld two waies, the one of pleasure, the other of vertue,

q began to haue a beard, or came to maturity or ripeness of yeares.
 q course or trade of life each will follow
 q to haue gone forth.
 q solitary place or wilderness.
 * long and much with himselfe.

Yet, this hee thinketh might befall to Hercules being sprung of the seed of Iupiter, & so of a diuine vnderstanding and iudgement: but that there is not any hope that any of vs should make such a choice.

whether of them it were better to enter into.

This peradventure might happen vnto Hercules being borne of Iupiters seede; but not so to vs, who

q should be.
 * fall out.
 q bred of the seede of Iupiter.

q euerle one.

*allured.

q determinations.

* instructed.

q we are led or doe
incline.

* customes.

q maner.

* after the.

q most wish for

q fairest.

q Some notwith-
standing haue fol-
lowed a right
course of life, whe-
ther by, &c.

who imitate whom it seemeth best to q every of vs; and are * inforced to their studies & and q fashions.

And for the most part wee beeing * trayned vp by the precepts of our parents, q are drawn vnto their * guise and q manners. O-

thers are carried * by the iudgement of the multi- tude, and q long after those things especially, vvhich seeme q goodliest to the greater part.

q Yet some, whe- ther by a certaine happinelle, or by goodnesse of na- ture, or by the in- struction of their parents,

1. Because wee vse rashly to imitate whomsoever wee like best of, and so follow their studies and fashions.

2. For that we being for most part train- ed vp by the pre- cepts and aduice of our parents, are drawne vnto a like- ing of their guise & maners.

Or thirdly, for that weve to be carried by the iudgement of the multitude, & so to long after those things which the greatest part do most admire.

Yet notwithstanding how hard so- euer it is, he acknow- ledgeth that some indeede haue fol- lowed a right course of life, whether a certaine happinelle betiding them, or the goodnes of their natures, or through the right instituti-

on of their parents.
But for this kind of
men who chuse to
be noeth that they
are yette feldom to
be found, which (if
they be of profound
wit, of excellent
learning and know-
ledge) will take a
due time for delibe-
rating hereof, what
course to chuse.
Thus having shew-
ed the difficultie of
his deliberation, he
now commeth to
set downe the right
maner of it, that we
ought chiefly to co-
sider to what we are
most fit by nature,

parents, have fol-
lowed the right
course of life. ¶ But
that kinde of men
is most feldome
found, who bee-
ing adorned ei-
ther with excel-
lent & profoundnes
of wit, or else with
famous learning &
knowledge, or with
both of w^{ch} them,
have & yet taken
a time of & delibe-
ration, what course
of life they would
especially followe.
In which delibera-
tion, & all a mans
countell is to bee
& applied to each
mans & proper na-
ture. For sith that
& in all things that
are done, we search
out of that
R. & nature & maner.

But that is the
most rare kinde of
those men
indued,
greatnesse.
also,
advising.
the whole coun-
sell or advice.
recalled.
owne.
we search out in
all things, &c.

* wherto euerie one
is naturally incli-
ned.

q becommeth.
q a greater care by
much of that mat-
ter is to bee added,
in determining our
whole life.

q be constant to our
selues in the conti-
nuance of our life,
nor to halt in any
dutie.

q force.

* consideration.

q kinde.

q nature is.

nature, * wherewith
euerie one is borne

(as is said before)

what q is comely;

then q a farre grea-
ter care thereof

must be had in set-
ting downe the

whole course of

our life; that vvee

may q euer agree

with our selues in

all our whole life,

and neuer halt in

any dutie. But see-

ing that Nature

hath the greatest

q power vnto this

choise, [and] For-

tune the next;

there must euer be

had a * regarde of

both of the, in chu-

sing the q course

of our life, but of

Nature more. For

q it is both much

& constant, then for-

q more

Because sith that we

seeke in euerie thing

particularly, what

is comely, by do-

ing it according to

nature; then much

more care ought

we to haue heereof

in determining the

whole course of

our life; and that

chiefly to this end,

that we may euer a-

gree with our selues

in all our whole

life, and neuer halt

in any dutie.

And whereas, next

vnto nature, fortune

bath the greatest

power for making

this choise, he tea-

cheth that we are to

haue a regard euen

of fortune also

therein; but yet of

nature more. For

that it is more firm

tune; in so much as * more firme and * surer.
 fortune sometimes, * constant: In so * stable.
 as being mortall much, that some-
 may seeme to fight times fortune, as
 with nature as bee- being q mortall, q. it selfe mortall or
 ing immortall. may seeme to fight mortalitie it selfe.

q with nature being q immortall nature
 immortall. Hee

In the third place therefore that will
 he teacheth, that a apply q his vvhole q all counsell, or the
 man thus applying course to the kind whole course of his
 the whole course of of his nature not life.

his life to the kinde corrupted, let him
 of his nature vncor- keepe q constan- q stedfastnesse.
 rupted, ought to be cy; For that be-

commeth chiefly:
 Because constancie except peraduen-
 principally becom- meth a man, vnlesse
 meth a man, vnlesse he shall afterwards
 he shall afterwards perceiue that hee
 perceiue that hee hath erred in his
 hath erred in his choice: which if it

* the kind of [his] * his course of life.
 happen (as he shew- life. Which if it
 eth it may well) he sh. all fall out (q as q and it may fall out,
 directeth what is to indeede it may)
 be don, viz. that he there must bee
 must then make made a change of
 a change of his manners and pur-
 course & purpoles.

R 2 poles.

may.

q helpe.

q by little and little
and foot by foot, or
faine and softly.

q comly or decent.
q slowe or vntitch
or rip a tander as it
were stich by stich

q suddenly.

q and the kinde of
our life being chan-
ged, we must care
by all reason.

poses. We shall
make that change
more easily and
cominodiously, if
the times shall
q further vs; but
if not, it must be
done q leasurely, &
by little and little:
like as wise men do
iudge it to be more
q conuenient, to
q breake off by lit-
tle and little, those
friendships, which
doe not so much
delight vs, and are
lesse approued of
vs, then to cut the
off, q of a sodaine.

q And when we
haue changed our
course of life, wee
must by all means
take heed, that we
be thought to haue
done it vpon good

And for the manner
of effecting heere-
of, that if the times
serue and fit there-
to, it may then be
made more easily &
cominodiously: but
if not, it is to bee
made more leasure-
ly, and as by little
and little.

And that we are to
doe heerein as wise
men in breaking off
their friendship with
such as they would
faine be shut of;

who thinke it more
conuenient to break
off with the by lit-
tle & little, then to
cut them off, of a
suddaine: And yet
ouer to obserue this
caution in our
chāge, That when
we haue thus chan-
ged, wee may bee
thought to haue
done it vpon good
advice.

q aduice.

Here also he giueth *q* aduice. But for *q* counsell.
two other cautions *as* much as *q* wee *q* it is said.
concerning the imi- *saide*, a little be-
tation of our fa- *fore*, *q* that wee *q* our successors to
thers or ancestors *must* * imitate our *be* imitated.
in our courtes of *ancestors*: let * follow.
life, spoken of be- *q* this first be ex- *q* that.
fore.

1. That we beware *cepted*, that their
that we do not imi- *q* that.
tate their vices. *vices* *q* are not to *q* be not.

be imitated. * And * next, that we seek
then if Nature will *not* to follow them
not beare, that *q* we *in* things against
can imitate cer- *our* nature,
q they can.
taine things; as

q the elder *Africa* *q* the sonne of the
us sonne, who a. *elder* Africanus.
dopted *q* this our
Pantus his sonne, *q* this son to Pan-
could not, for his *lus* Emilius.

q sicknesse, be so *q* infirmities of
like vnto his fa- *his* beards.
ther, as the * other * other Africanus
sonne.

q was his: If there- *q* was like his fa-
fore one be not a- *ther*.
ble, either to * de * plead.
fend causes, or * to * to make orations
or speeches to the
people, or to fol- *retaine* the people *people*.

may:

q helpe.

q by little and little
and foot by foot, or
faire and softly.q comly or decent.
q slowe or vntitch
or rip a tender as it
were stitch by stitch

q suddenly.

q and the kinde of
our life being chan-
ged, we must care
by all reason.

poses. We shall And for the manner
make that change of effecting heere-
more easily and of, that if the times
cominodiously, if serue and fit there-
the times shall to, it may then be
made more easily &
q further vs; but commodiously: but
if not, it is to bee
done q leasurely, & made more leasure-
ly, and as by little
by little and little: and little.
like as wise men do And that we are to
iudge it to be more doe heerein as wise
men in breaking off
q conuenient, to their friendship with
q breake off by lit- such as they would
tle and little, those faine be shut of,
friendships, which
doe not so much
delight vs, and are
lesse approued of
vs, then to our the
off, q of a sodaine.
q And when we
haue changed our
course of life, wee
must by all means
take heed, that we
be thought to haue
done it vpon good
advice.

who thinke it more
conuenient to break
off with the by lit-
tle & little, then to
cut them off, of a
suddaine: And yet
ouer to obserue this
caution in our
châge; That when
we haue thus chan-
ged, wee may bee
thought to haue
done it vpon good
advice.

q aduice.

Here also be giuen *q* aduice. But for *q* counsell.
 two other causes *as* much as *q* vvee *q* it is said.
 concerning the imi- *saide*, a little be-
 tation of our fa- *fore*, *q* that vvee *q* our successors to
 thers or ancestors *must* * imitate our be imitated.
 in our courtes of *ancestors* : let * follow.
 life, spoken of be- *q* this first be ex- *q* that.
 fore.

1. That we beware *q* this first be ex- *q* that.
 that we do not imi- *cepted*, that their
 tate their vices. *vices* *q* are not to *q* be not
 be imitated. * And * next, that we seek
 then if Nature will *not* to follow them

2. If through na- *not* beare, that *q* we *in* things against
 ture, or any other *can* imitate cer- *our* nature,
 impediment, wee *tain* things; *q* they can.
 cannot imitate cer- *as*
 taine things which *q* the elder *Africa* *q* the sonne of the
 were commendable *us* sonne, who a. elder *Africanus*.
 in them, like as he *do*pted *q* this our
 instanteth in the el- *Pantus* his sonne, *q* this son to Pan-
 der *Africanus* son, *lus* *Emilius*.
 who could not so i- *could* not, for his
 mitate his father, as *q* sicklinesse, be so *q* infirmie of
 the other *Affr.* son *like* vnto his fa- *his* health.
 did his, through *ther*, as the * other * other *Africanus*
 sicklinesse; Or if we *q* was his: If there- *sonne*.
 be not so fitted for *fore* one be not a- *q* was like his fa-
 pleading or defen- *ble*, either to * de- * plead.
 ding causes, or for *fend* causes, or * to * to make orations
 making orations & *or* speeches to the
 like speeches to the *people*, or to fol- *people*.
 people, or to fol-

q make warre.
q it shall be his duty

* he can.

q faithfulness.

q to the end, that
that thing may be
lesse required.

q And the best inheritance is left
from the fathers to
the children, and
better then all patrimonie [or liuelihood or childspart] [viz.] the glorie of, &c.

* shame, disgrace
or disparagement.
q iudge an vniust
thing [or dishonnest] and a fault.

with orations, or
to q followe the
warres, yet q hee
ought to performe
those things, which
* shall bee in his
power: as Iustice,
q Fidelity, Liberality, Modestie, [&]
Tēperance; q that
that thing, which
is lacking in him,
may bee the lesse
missed. q And indeed the best inheritance [which] is
left by fathers vnto their children,
and more worth then any patrimonie [is] the glory
of [their] vertue, and of worthy
deedes: whereunto to be a * staine,
is to be accounted [both] a fault and
shame.

low the wars or the like, that yet we are to be careful to performe those things which are in our power (as iustice, fidelitie, liberalitie, modestie and temperance) in the best sort that we can, that so what is lacking in vs may bee lesse missed.

Finally, he concludeth this poynt, assigning the care of it; That sith indeede the best inheritance, which can be left by fathers vnto their children, & which is more worth then any patrimonie, is the glorie of their vertues and worthy deedes; and for that cause, seeing to be a staine thereunto, is both a foule fault &

great shame: therefore currie one should the more warily looke to the right imitation of them. And thus he endeth this matter, making an entraunce to the discourse following of the diuersitie of Duties in regard of ages, &c.

shame. And because the same duties *q* doe not belong to vnlike ages, but *q* some are for young men, others for old men, somewhat is also to be spoken of this diuersity.

q are not giuen or besitting. *q* there are some [duties] of young men, others of olde, something also is to be said of this di-
function.

Chap. 45.

*What things doe
properly become
* youth.*

Chap. 45.

Here I teacheth the speciall duties of young men, & what things do become them: as,

1. That they reuerence their elders.
2. That they chuse out, amongst the ancienter, the best and most approued, whose counsell and

IT is therefore *q* a *q* [the Duty] of a young mans dutie to reuerence his elders, and to chuse out of them the best and most approued; whose counsel and authoritie

* young men.

I came vnto,

g entering age, or the
tender yeares.

g ordered & guided
* experience.

g driven away or
weaned.

* pleasures.

* patiently indu-
ring toyle both, &c.

g flourish or be of
chiefe strength, or
they may be most
fit for.

g And also.

* wits.

* betake,

g pleasure.

g shamefastnesse.

ritie he may g relie

vpon. For the vn-

skilfulnesse of

g youth, is to bee

g directed and go-

uerned by the * wil-

dom of old men.

This age is also to

be specially g re-

frained from * lust,

and to bee exerci-

sed in labour and

* patience both of

minde and bodie,

that their industry

may g excell both

in marriall and ci-

uill duties. g More-

ouer, vhen they

will refresh their

* mindes and * giue

themselues to g pa-

sttime, let them be-

ware of intempe-

rance, and remem-

ber g to obserue

modesty ; which

g they

authoritie they may

vle, and rely vpon.

The reason where-

of is, because the

vskilfulnesse of

youth is to be direc-

ted by the wisdom

of the auncient.

3. That this age is

specially to bee re-

frained from lust.

full pleasures, and to

bee exercised in la-

bour and patience

both of minde and

body, that they may

excell in marriall &

ciuill duties, & their

industrie bee scene

therein.

4. That when they

desire to recreate

themselues with

sports, they carefully

beware of intem-

perance, & remem-

ber modesty. And

to this end he thin-

keth it fit, that they

should haue som of

the ancienter present at such recreations wherein otherwise might be danger of any intemperance or immode-
 q they may doe q shal be more easily
 more easily, if they
 will q have their
 elders also present
 at such * things.
 q their elders will
 be present, or a-
 mongst them.
 * times.

Chap. 46.

What things q do chiefly become olde age.
 q become especially

Chap. 46.

Heere bee setteth
 downe some Duties
 of olde men, as espe-
 cially concerning
 them; as,
 1. That they dimi-
 nish the labours of
 their bodies, and in-
 crease the exercises
 of the minde.

* **B**ut the labours of the
 body are to bee
 q diminished in q lessened.
 olde men, and ex-
 ercises of the mind
 q seeme meere to q doe seeme.
 be increased. And
 q they must doe
 their endeaour, q their diligence
 must be giuen.
 that they q princi- q helpe as much as
 pally ayde both they can, or asist
 their friends, and verie much.
 the

2. That they vse all
 indeuour to helpe
 both their friendes

the youth & chiefly the younger sort, & chiefly the commonweale, by their counsell & wildom.

* olde men are to beware of nothing more.

But * nothing is more to bee taken heede of to olde age, then that it giue not it selfe ouer to lihernesse

q slothfulnesse.
* But as for riot,
q is both filthie,

q and also most foule to olde age.

& q idlenesse. * Riotousnesse also q as it is dishonest to euerie age, q so to olde age most shamefull. But if

q also come vnto it.

the intemperance of lust shal q more ouer bee ioyned therewith, there is

q euillor inconuenience.

a double q mischief; because both age it selfe q receiue th * shame [therby] and it cau-

q conceiue th disgrace.

q the intemperance of young men.

seth q the young mens intemperance.

3. That they beware in any case that they giue not themselves ouer to lihernesse and idlenesse.

4. That they take heed of riotousnesse because as it is dishonest to euerie age; so in olde men it is most shamefull.

5. That they more heedfully auoide all intemperance of lust: because that, ioyned with riot or sloth, is a double mischief; for that both age it selfe receiue th shame thereby, and also that it maketh the younger sort to be more shamelesse and outrageous in all intemperance.

rance to bee more
q shamelesse.

q impudent.

Chap. 47.

*What things q are q become.
befitting the person
of the Magistrate.*

Chap. 47.

Heere T. proceedeth to set downe certaine Duties of Magistrates, priuate men, citizens and strangers; as which are most comly and commendable in each of them.

And first, for the magistrate.

1. That it is his proper office to consider euer, that hee represents the person of the citie, and that therefore hee carefully maintaine the ho-

ANd * this in- * that.
deed is not

q from the purpose, q strange or besides
to speak * of the Du the matter.
ties of Magistrates, * concerning, or
touching.

[&] of priuate men,
of citizens [and] of
strangers. It is

therefore the proper
office of a Ma-

gistrate, q to confi- q to vnderstand "
der that hee repre- himselfe to beare

sents the person of
the Citie, q & that q and to owe.

he ought to main- q dignitie and ho-
taine the q honour
and

q to keep lawes.
q to describe or set
downe.

q those things
to be, &c.

q trust or fidelitie.

q with an equall &
like lawe with the
citizens.

q submisſe and baſe

q liſting vp himſelf.

q will or deſire.

* which concerne
peace and honeſtie.

* eſteeme.

& reputation there-
of: q to ſee the ſta-
tutes obſerved, q to
make lawes, and
to remember q that
 thoſe things are
committed to his
q charge. It be-
hooueth alſo a pri-
uate man, to liue
q vnder the like
lawe, as the reſt of
the citizens (nei-
ther q as an vnder-
ling and abieſt, nor
q bearing himſelfe
too high) and alſo
to q ſeek thoſe
things in the Co-
mon-weale, * that
are quiet and ho-
neſt. For wee are
vront both to
* thinke and to call
 ſuch a one a good
citizen. But it is
the dutie of a ſtran-
ger

now and reputati-
on thereof.
2. That he ſee the
ſtatutes of the citie
obſerved.
3. That he helpe to
make lawes.
4. That he euer re-
member all things
committed to his
trust and fidelitie.
Secondly, for the
private man.
1. That he liue or-
derly, ſubmitting
himſelf to the ſame
lawes and orders as
other citizens.
2. That he neither
demean himſelfe
too baſely, as an vn-
derling, or abieſt,
nor beare himſelfe
too high.
3. That hee follow
 thoſe things onely
which concerne
peace and honeſtie;
for that ſuch are e-
ſteemed good ci-
zens.
Thirdly, for the

stranger and alien inhabitant, he prescribeth this, as most becoming & fite;

1. That he meddle onely with his own businesse, without inquiring into other mens matters; and much more without intermedling in matters of the commonweale.

And to conclude, thus hee sheweth that duties may be found out; when there is a wise consideration what is befitting to persons, times and ages.

And finally, to the ende that wee may be constant in good duties, hee setteth this downe as a generall rule,

That nothing can so grace a man as to keepe constancie in managing euery matter, and also in taking of aduice.

ger and q alien inhabitant, to meddle with nothing besides his owne

businesse, q nor to enquire of another mans matter; and to bee q no whit

* curious in a * strange Comonweale. q Thus for

the most parte Duties shall be found out, when it shall

be q enquired what q is decent, and what is q befitting

to persons, times and ages. And

there is nothing that * can so much grace a man, as to keepe constancy in

q managing euery matter, and in * taking of aduice.

q one of another countrie inhabiting in the citie, a forrener.

q to inquire [or ask busily] nothing of, &c.

q not at all.

* more busie then is befitting, or other meddling.

* forren.

q So almost.

q sought out.

q becommeth.

q apt, fit, or agreeable.

* doth so much become.

q doing or performing.

* consultation.

Chap. 48.

q what is comly.

q Comelinesse in
the ordering and
motion of [our]
bodie.

q that.
q is seene.

q forme.

q is put.

q well fauourednesse

q adorning or gar-
nishing.

q to action.

* expresse.

* conceined.

But because
q this comeli-
ness q appeareth in
all deeds & words,
and finally in the
motion and q ge-
sture of the bodie.
& the same q con-
sisteth in three
things, q fairnesse,
order [and] q set-
ting forth, meete
q for ones doings:
it is more difficult
to * vter, but it
wil be easie enough
to be * vnderstood.
That care also is
cōtained in these 3.
things

Chap. 48.

In this chapter T.
sheweth, that comeli-
nesse is not onely to
bee obserued in all
our words & deeds
but also in the varie-
motions and ge-
stures, of our bo-
dies.

And that this same
consisteth chiefly in
these three things,
viz. fairnesse, order,
and handsonnesse
of the gesture meet
for the thing done.
Also that howloe-
uer this point bee
somewhat difficult to
vter, yet it is plaine
enough to bee vnder-
stood.

Finally, that in these
three things consi-

seth chiefly that things, that we be
 care that we may be * approued of the * allowed,
 approued of them with whom, and
 with whom and a- amongst whom we
 mongst whom wee amongst whom we
 liue. Let q some q a fewe words.
 few [wordes] bee
 spoken q likewise q also.
 of these things.

Chap. 49.

Chap. 49. q That it is vn- q Certaine parts of
 comely for certaine the bodie to bee
 parts of the body to shewed, vcomly: al-
 be shewed; and like- so certaine things
 wise that it is unbe- either to be done
 seeming either to do dishonestly, openly;
 or to be named o-
 penly.
 certain things or
 so much as to na-
 them, openly.
 And first, that wee
 are chiefly to follow q First of all, na- q In the beginning
 nature heerein like- ture it selfe verie nature.
 wise;
 seemeth to haue
 had a great * re- * regard or consi-
 spect deration.
 to haue had a great

q in readinesse that
our. &c.

q fauour, face or
physiomy.

q honest.

q vncomly.

* men.

q diligent.

q for all men, who
are of a sound
minde remoue
from the eyes those
things which na-
ture hath hid.

spect of our body, respect of our bo-
dy, hauiog sette in
which hath set q in open view our cou-
open view our tenance and the rest
q countenance and of our shape, wher-
the rest of our in the principall
shape, wherein comlinesse is; but
there is a q comely hid those parts wher
shew: but she hath beeing given onely
couered and hidde for necessitie of
those parts of the nature would bee
bodie, which being vncomly to looke
given for the ne- vpon: so the mode-
cessitie of Nature, stic of man doth &
would haue an il- ought to follow
fauoured & q foule this so cunning a
sight. The mo- worke of Nature:
destie of * man which he declareth
hath followed this eidently betreby;
so q cunning a
frame of Nature.
q For what things
Nature hath hid,
those all men, who
are well in their
wits, do keep from
the eyes: and they
doe their endea-
uour

Because what
things nature hath
hid, those all who
are well in their wits
doe keepe forth of
sight; and do what
they can to serue

the necessitie of nature as secretly as may be. your to q serue ^{*ve} q obey. ry necessitie as ^{* necessitie of nature.} q closely as they ^{q secretly.}

Likewise, of what parts of the bodie there are more seruile and base vses, they doe not so much as call them or their vses by their owne names. So that, that which it is no shame to do so it be secretly, yet it is vncleanly to re-
 parts of the bodie there are q seruile q necessarie or base: vses, they neither ^{* call those partes} ^{* team,} nor [their] vses by their owne names : q and so q and that. that which it is no shame to doe, if it be q secretly ; it q closely or in a se-
 cret place.

port. And therefore q filthie to speak of it. neither the q do- q open acting or doing of. ing of those things openly is voide of q impudencie, q nor q shamelesnesse. the speaking of q not the speech [is voide of] filthi-
 ness. them [free from] dishonestie. Nei- ther yet indeed are the Cynicks q wor- q to be heard. thie to bee heard, or if there haue been

beene any Stoicks and also the Stoicks
 in maner Cynicks, who were almost
 * find fault with & who * reprove and Cynicks in this
 mocke or iest at vs. scoffe at vs, because scoffe at them for
 q those things to wee say: q that this; because they
 be haious [or those things are affirmed that these
 shameful] in words. shamefull to bee things are shameful
 vntered in vvords, to bee vntered, in
 which are not dis- words, which are
 honest in deede: not dishonest
 and yet wee tearm indeede: and yet
 those things which they vied to tearm
 be * filthy, by their other things by
 owne names: q as, which were disho-
 to robbe by the nest & vile indeed,
 high wayes, * be as namely to rob,
 guile, commit a- cosin, commit a-
 dultery, is a thing speake of them with
 dishonest indeede, out dishonestie; but
 but it is q spoken to beget children a
 of without any dis- matter honest in it
 honestie: q to be selfe, they account-
 get children is in- ed vncleanly to be
 deed honest, q vntered.
 vncleanly to bee q And so
 vntered. q And so These and other like
 these Philosophers reason they brought
 bring against modestie.

* vn honest.

q as it is a thing dishonest indeed to rob [or goe a thee-uing,] &c.

* deceiue or cosin.

q reported [or told] not obscenely.

q to giue he inde-our for children.

q obscene in name.

q And moe things are disputed by the same [Philosophers] to that sentence &c.

But for answer heereof hee setteth
downe this as a sure
rule;
That we are heerin
to follow nature, &
to shun euery thing
which our eyes dis-
like to beholde, or
our eares to heare.
So likewise that our
standing, going,
countenance, eyes
& gestures keep the
same decorū, as that
they may be appro-
ued of all.
And here he giueth
warning of two
principall faults:
1. To beware that
we doe nothing ef-
feminately or too
nicely.
The other, that wee
doe not any thing
rudely or clownish-
lie.
After, he vrgeth this
point for obseruing
comlinesse:
1. By the examples
of players, by who

bring many things
to that purpose a-
gainst *q* modellie. *q* shamefastnesse.
But let vs followe
Nature, and *q* shun *q* die.
euery thing which *q* abhorreth from
q abhorreth the ve- [or cannot receive
rie * approbation to much as] the ap-
of the eyes & eares. * probation, &c.
Let our standing, * pleasing.
going, sitting * gate.
downe, sitting at
the table, counte-
nance, eyes, moou-
ing of [our] hands
keepe that same
q decorum. In w^{ch} * comlinesse.
things, two [faults] * faults.
are to be *q* auoided
especially: *q* that *q* fled.
wee doe nothing *q* effeminate [or
effeminately or womanish] and
nicely, *q* nor rude- *q* and not any thing
ly or clownishly. hard [or rude] or
Neither indeede carter-like.
may wee yeeldvn-
to * players & ora- * stage players.

beene any Stoicks and also the Stoicks
 in maner Cynicks, who were almost
 * find fault with & who * reprove and Cynicks in this
 mocke or iest at vs: scoffe at vs, because point, who vsed to
 q those things to wee say: q that scoffe at them for
 be haïnous [or those things are affirmed that these
 shameful] in words. shamefull to bee things are shameful
 vttered in vvords, to bee vttered, in
 which are not dis- words, which are
 honest in deede: not dishonest
 and yet wee tearm indeede: and yet
 those things which they vsed to tearm
 be * filthy, by their other things by
 owne names: q as, their owne names, which were disho-
 to robbe by the as, nest & vile indeed,
 high wayes, * be as namely to rob,
 guile, commit a- cosin, commit a-
 dultery, is a thing dulterie, and could
 dishonest indeede, speake of them with
 but it is q spoken out dishonestie; but
 of without any dis- to beget children a
 honestie: q to be matter honest in it
 get children is in- selfe, they account-
 deed honest, q but ed vncleanly to be
 vncleanly to bee vttered.
 vttered. q And so This and other like
 these Philosophers realos they brought
 bring against modestie.

* vn honest.

q as it is a thing dishonest indeed to rob [or goe a thee-uing,] &c.

* deceiue or cosin.

q reported [or told] not obscenely.

q to giue he inde-our for children.

q obscene in name.

q And moe things are disputed by the same [Philosophers] to that sentence &c.

But for answer heereof hee setteth
downe this as a sure
rule;
That we are heerein
to follow nature, &
to shun euery thing
which our eyes dis-
like to beholde, or
our eares to heare.
So likewise that our
standing, going,
countenance, eyes
& gestures keep the
same decorũ, as that
they may be appro-
ued of all.
And here he giueth
warning of two
principall faults:
1. To beware that
we doe nothing ef-
feminately or too
nicely.
The other, that wee
doe not any thing
rudely or clownish-
lie.
After, he vrgeth this
point for obseruing
comlinesse;
1. By the examples
of players, by who

bring many things
to that purpose a-
gainst q modestie. q shamefastnesse.
But let vs followe
Nature, and q shun q flie.
euery thing which
q abhorreth the ve-
rie * approbation
of the eyes & eares. * pleasing.
Let our standing,
* going, sitting * gate.
downe, sitting at
the table, counte-
nance, eyes, moo-
uing of [our] hands
keepe that same
q decorum. In wth * comlinesse.
things, two [faults] * faults.
are to be q auoided
especially: q that q fled.
wee doe nothing q effeminate [or
effeminately or womanish] and
or nice or wanton.
nicely, q nor rude-
ly or clownishly. q and not any thing
Neither indeede hard [or rude] or
carter-like.
may wee yeeld vn-
to * players & ora- * stage players.

tours, that these it is shame to be re-
 things should bee proued heerein.
 q fit for them, dissol- q seemely done by Amongst whom
 ute [or left loosely] them, dissolutely there is so great re-
 to vs. by vs. The very garde of modestie,
 custome of stage- according to the
 players, hath so auncient custome,
 q shamefastnesse. great q modestie that none of them
 from the ancient come vpo the stage
 q discipline. q order, that no without breeches,
 man commeth on and that because
 the stage without they feare lest by a-
 breeches. For they ny chance some
 are afraide, lest if parts of the bodie
 it should fall out should be discou-
 by any chance that red and scene vnde-
 * certaine parts of cently.
 the bodie should
 be q discouered,
 they would bee
 q seene vncomely. 3. By the fashion
 q And indeed after in bathing, in vse a-
 our maner. mongst them;
 That childre grow-
 on is with vs, chil- ing to mans estate
 dren growing to might not bee
 q mans estate, are bathed with their
 not q bathed with parents; nor sonnes
 their parents, fathers in lawe: on
 nor

ly for this modestie nor sonnes in law
 which nature hath taught. with their fathers
 Hence, finally bee in law. The q mo- q shamefastnesse
 concludeth, that the destie therefore of or bashfulnesse.
 modestie in this this kinde is to be
 kinde is carefully q obserued, especi- q retained.
 to be obserued; e- ally Nature herself
 specially nature her- being Mistresse
 selfe being such a and guide.
 strict mistresse and guide heerein.

Chap. 50.

*What q beauty q forme or fauour.
 becomes a man,
 what a woman, and
 how q both of them q either of them.
 are to be q adorned: q decked or prefer-
 ued.*

Heere T. declar- in like manner, what
 eth yet more pati- gesture, and what
 cularly, what things motion is comely.

so as they may bee
 approued of all.
 And first teacheth,
 that whereas there
 are two Kindes of

But whereas
 there are two
 Kindes of q beau- q amiableness or
 ty, in the one of comelinesse.

S₃ which

q digaitie.

q adorning or tricking.

q not worthie man.

q beauty.

q wraistler-like motions.

* too too.

q odious.

q some.

* like players.

* follies.

which is fairnesse, beautie, to wit fairnesse and maiestie; in the other Maiestie: wee ought to account fairnesse to the woman, as more comely for her, maiestie to the man as more gracing him. Whence he giueth these lessons:

All q manner of trimming therfore

q vnbesitting man, must be remooued

from his q outward forme: and let a

fault like vnto this be taken heede of

in the gesture and in the motion.

For both q the stirrings like wraistlers

are oft times * more q misliked, and also

so q many gestures * of players are not

vvithout * foolish toyes: also in both

kinds those things are comended w^{ch}

1. That men beware of too much tricking their outward beautie.

2. That they neither v^{ic} over, violent motions like wraistlers, nor too much gesture or other foolish toyes like players; but that such as are most plaine are best.

are

are right & q plain. q simple.

3. To preserve the
maiestie of the fa-
uour, by the good-
nes of the colour;
& that, by the exer-
cise of the body.

But the maiestie of
the fauour is to be
preserued by the
goodnesse of the
colour, [and] the
colour by the ex-
ercises of the body.

q There must q There is to be ad-
moreover be vsed ded besides.

4. That they care-
fully vse cleane-
line, and that such as is
not any way odious
or too curious, but
only which eschewes
all vnciuil slouenry.

a cleane-
line, [which is] not o-
dious, nor too cu-
rious, but onely
which escheweth
all grude and vnciu-
ill slouenrie,

q countrie-like and
inhumane negli-
gence.

5. For apparell that
is likewise be clea-
ly; and that in it, as
in most things, a
meane is best.

* The same regarde
is to be had of [our]
apparell; in which
as in most things
a meane is the best:
wee must also take
heede that wee nei-

* we must haue

6. For our pale.
That we neither vse
ouer nice slownesse,

ther vse q ouer nice
slownesse in our
q pale, that vree
should

q too soft slownes-
ses, or too much
nicenesse.
q going or gate.

q digaitie.

q adorning or tricing.

q not worthie man.

q beauty.

q wrastler-like motions.

* too too.

q odious.

q some.

* like players.

* follies.

which is fairnesse, beautie, to wit fairnesse and maiestie; in the other Maiesty: wee ought to account fairnesse to belong to the woman, and maiesty to the man. that fairnesse belongeth more properly to the woman, as more comely for her, maiestie to the man as more gracing him. Whence he giueth these lessons:

All q manner of trimming therfore

q vnbesitting man, must be remooued from his q outward forme: and let a fault like vnto this be taken heede of in the gesture and in the motion.

For both q the stirrings like wrastlers are oft times * more

q misliked, and also q many gestures * of players are not without * foolish toyes: also in both kinds those things are comended wth

1. That men beware of too much tricing their outward beautie.

2. That they neither vlc over, violent motions like wrastlers, nor too much gesture or other foolish toyes like players; but that such as are most plaine are best.

are

are right & q plain. q simple.

3. To preserve the maiestie of the fauour, by the goodnes of the colour; & that, by the exercise of the body.

But the maiestie of the fauour is to be preserved by the goodnesse of the colour, [and] the colour by the exercise of the body.

q There must q There is to be added besides.

4. That they carefully vse cleanness, and that such as is not any way odious or too curious, but only which eschewes all vnciuill slouerie.

a cleanness, [which is] not odious, nor too curious, but onely which escheweth all q rude and vnciuill slouerie.

q countie-like and inhumane negligence.

5. For apparell that it likewise be cleanly; and that in it, as in most things, a meane is best.

* The same regarde is to be had of [our] apparell; in which as in most things a meane is the best: wee must also take heede that wee nei-

* we must haue

6. For our paise. That we neither vse ouernice slownesse,

q too soft slownesse, q too soft slownesse, or too much nicenesse. q paise, that vvee should q going or gate.

* pageants borne
in triumphs or
shewes to be seene,
q either that we
take vp.

q swiftnesse,
q are done.
q the breathings
are moued.

q countenances
are changed.

q the faces are writ-
then.

q a great significati-
on is made, no con-
stancie to be presēt.

* studie.

* affections.
q depart not.

q perturbations or
moodes.

q amazednesse.

should seeme to be
like the * Pageants
in triumphes, q nor
too much q speed
in our haste.

Which things whē
they q fall out,
q there followeth
shortnes of breath,
the q countenance
is changed, q the
face is disfigured:
of which q ariseth
a great presumpti-
on, that they haue
no staiednesse. But
wee must * labour

much more, that
the * motions of
our mind q swarue
not from Nature;
which we shall at-
taine, if we beware
that we fall not in-
to q passions and
q mazes, and if we
wil keep our minds
q heed-

to seem to goe like
pageants borne in
triumphs, as it were,
not mouing, nor
yet too much speed
in our haste.

This later hee gi-
ueth speciall war-
ning to prenent by
the inconueniences
following thereof;
as shortnesse of
breathing, chang-
ing of the counte-
nance, disfiguring
the face; whence
ariseth a great pre-
sumption of lacke
of staiednesse in the
party.

7. That yet aboue
all these, wee looke
to the motions of
our mindes, that
they swarue not fro
nature.

And withall teach-
eth how wee may
attaine thereunto;
viz. if wee beware
that we fall not into
passions, and apply

our mindes to pre-
serue comelinesse.

q heedfull to the *q* ardent.
* preservation of keeping.

comelinesse. But

the motions of the

minde are *q* of two

sorts; some of the

q * thoughts, O-

thers of the appe-

tite. The thought

is *q* especially busi-

ed in searching

out the truth: the

appetite * infor-

ceeth a man to ac-

tion. *q* Wee must

therefore bee care-

full, that we *q* im-

ploy our thoughts

about the very best

matters, [and] that

wee *q* make [our]

appetite obedient

to reason.

q double.

q cogitation.

* vnderstanding.

q conuersant or ex-

ercised.

* stirreth a man to
be doing.

q Therefore wee

must care or pro-

uide.

q vlc our cogitati-

on vnto the, &c.

q giue.

Chap. 51.

* two sorts of
speech.

* eloquent.

q daily.

There is * a dou-
ble kinde of speech,
* rhetoricall and
q common.

q there is great
force of speech.
q double.

q contention.

q talke.
* eloquent speech.
q let it be giuen.

q of iudgements,
assemblies [or so-
lemne meetings]
the Senate house.

q speech let it be
vsed in circles [or
cōmon meetings.]
q disputations.

ANd because
q the power
of speech is great,
and that q allo[s]
of two sortes, the
one of q vehement
speech, the other
of q ordinarie talk.
Let the * vehement
speech q serue for
pleadings in q iudg-
ments, orations in
assemblies, & spee-
ches in the Senate
house: q Let the
ordinarie speech
be vsed in compa-
nies, q reasoning a-
bout matters, mee-
tings

Chap. 51.

In this Chapter
and the next, T. gi-
ueth directions for
the manner of our
speech, and heere
first for the rhetori-
call or more vehe-
ment speech;
That whereas there
are two sorts of
speech, the one more
eloquent and vehe-
ment, the other or-
dinarie, he directeth
that the vehement
speech serue for
pleadings, orations,
speeches in the se-
nate house, and the
like: the ordinarie
in vsuall meetings
and debates of

matters at feasts &
the like.

of *q* familiars, *q* familiar [friends,
and *q* let it also be *q* let it pursue [or
at featings. attend vpon] feasts.

1. He sheweth that
the Rhetoricians giue
many precepts for
the vehement speech,
none for the ordi-
nary:

Howbeit he think-
eth there may be for
this also: (although
there are none that
 studie it, and so no
such teachers for it,
as there are for the
vehement, all places
beeing replenished
with store of Rhe-
toricians: and that
the same precepts
which serue for
words & sentences
may serue for ordi-
nary speech.

* There are ma- *q* the rhetoricians
ny precepts of *q* giue many precepts
Rhetoricians, of concerning vche-
ment speech,
none of ordinarie

talke: although I

* knowe not whe- * wot.

ther *q* there may *q* these also may be
not be such also.

Howbeit there are *q* But maisters [or
maisters for their teachers] are found
studies that will for the studies of
learne: but there learners,

are none that stu-
die this: all pla-
ces are *q* replenish-
ed with store of
Rhetoricians. Al-
though those same
precepts which are
of words & senten-
ces, *q* may serue
for talke. But sith *q* will appertaine
that we haue [our] to talke.

3. For the more ve-
hement; that sith

that we haue [our]
voyce

the viterer, or to
viter.

¶ and we follow
two things in our
voice.

¶ both of them is
to be required, &c.

¶ of men speaking.
¶ pressly & mildly
[will increase] the
other.

¶ to vse an exquisite
iudgement of let-
ters, or pronoun-
cing.

¶ but and others.

voyce the * decla- our voice is giuen
rer of [our] speech, vs to be the declarer
of our minde, and
¶ and in our voyce that in it wee seeke
we seek two things, these two things,
that it bee cleare that it be cleare and
and (sweete, ¶ they sweet; hee teacheth
both are to be fet- that although both
ched altogether fetched from na-
from Nature; but ture, yet they may
exercise vwill in- be much helped; the
crease the one, and clearnesse by conti-
imitation ¶ of the nuall exercise, the
that speake ¶ pi- pleasantnesse by i-
thily and pleasant- mitation of them
ly, the other. who speak most pi-
thilie & pleasantly.

What was there in
the *Caruli*, that you
should think them

¶ to bee of an ex-
quisite iudgement
in learning? Al-
though they were
learned, ¶ so were
others also. But
these were thought
to vse the Latine
tongue the best,
their

That these two doe
exceedingly comēd
the voice, he proo-
ueth by instances in
the *Caruli*, who
were thought to be
of exquisite lear-
ning, & to excell o-
thers, who were as
learned; and to sur-
passe others in the
Latine tongue, only

because their pronunciation was so sweet.

Their letters were neither too much mouthed, nor drowned in their pronunciation, lest their speech should haue bin either darke or vnpleasant. Their voice also without straying, neither too weake nor too shrill. So that although the speech of L. Cr. was more flowing & no lesse conceited, yet for eloquence the Catuli were in as great estimation.

Lastly, hee teacheth by the example of Caesar, Catulus fathers brother, that each should labour to excell in wit and pleasant conceits;

their *q* pronuntiation was sweete, their letters neither

q too much mouthed nor drowned, lest it should bee either *q* darke to be

vnderstood, or *q* vnpleasant or too much affected. *q* expressed nor oppressed. *q* obscure. *q* vnpleasant or too much affected.

uer harsh. [Their voyce was] without straining, nei-

ther *q* faint nor *q* too shrill. The *q* fainting. *q* shrill.

speech of *Lucius Crassus* [was] more *q* flowing, and no lesse *q* conceited.

q Yet for eloquence the *Catuli* were in no lesse estimation. But *Caesar*, the *q* plentifull. *q* pleasant. *q* But the opinion concerning Catuli, of well speaking, was not lesse.

brother of the father of *Catulus*,

q went beyond all *q* overcame. *q* salt.

in *q* wit and pleasant conceits, that in that verie lawyerlike

q ouercame the
contention.

q speech.
q we must labour
therfore.

q becommeth.

yerlike kinde of
speaking, he q sur-
passed the vehe-
mencie of others,
[euen] in q [his]
familiar talk. q We
must therfore take
paines in all these
things, if wee seeke
out what q is de-
cent in eucry mat-
ter.

that beereby, in his
verie familiar talke
he went beyond the
eloquence of others:
And therefore con-
cludeth that we are
to take paines in e-
uerie one of these,
if we seek to attaine
what is decent in e-
uerie matter.

Chap. 52.

[How our] fa-
miliar talke is to be
* moderated.

* guided, ordered
or directed.

* familiar talke.

* milde, and not at
all obstinate.

L Et then this
* talke (in
which the Socra-
tians most excell)
be * gentle, and
not froward. Let
there bee therein

Chap. 52.

Heere bee giueth
sundry precepts for
ordinarie talke ;
Wherein the Socra-
tians did most ex-
cell : as,
1. That it be gentle,
not froward, but ha-

q a

his
talke
the
ers:
on-
are
a c-
se,
ine
c-

uing a pleasant
grace.

3. That wee grant
others their due
courte and free li-
bertie of speech, as
well as wee wish to
our selues.

q a pleasantnesse.

Neither yet indeed

q let a man ex-

clude others, as

though hee were

q entered into his

owne possession:

but let him think

that he ought q oft

times to vie an en-

terchange—able

courte, as in other

matters so also in

common talke.

And let him q con-

sider first of all of

what matters hee

speake: if [it bee]

of earnest busines-

ses, let him q vie q adde.

q sageneſſe; if of q leueritie or grauity

merry matters,

pleasantnesſe. Es-

pecially let him

q looke vnto it q foresee.

that his talke doe

not q bewray some q declare.

vice

q a pleasant grace.

q let him exclude.

q come.

q now and then.

q adde.

q leueritie or grauity

q foresee.

q declare.

vice

vice

vice

vice

vice

vice

vice

vice

vice

vice

vice

vice

vice

vice

vice

vice

vice

vice

vice

vice

¶ to bee in his manners.

¶ it is spoken studiously of the absent, for the cause of detracting.

¶ either by a mocke or seuerely, or reproachfully or contumeliously.

¶ And [common] speeches are had for the most part.

¶ Therefore our diligence is to be giuen.

¶ although our speech.

vice ¶ in his manners. Which is

wont to fall out then especially,

when as ¶ men do speake purposely of them who are absent, to their reproach, ¶ in scorn or earnest, either raylingly, or spitefully. ¶ Moreo-

uer, ordinarie communication is for the most parte, either of domestical businesses, or of the Common-weale, or of the studies of good artes, and of learning. ¶ Wee

must therefore do our endeaour, that ¶ howsoeuer our communication shall begin to stray vnto other

mat-

And this hee teacheth to fall out then especially, when we speak of set purpose, of them that are absent to their reproch, whether in scorn or good earnest, either raylingly or spitefully; and therefore to be wary how wee speake of such, who beeing absent are not able to defend themselves.

¶ 5. Our ordinarie communication beeing for the most part of some more serious matter, as of domestricall businesses, or things concerning the commonweale, or some matter of learning; that we indetour to call backe and keep our speech to the point in hand till it be finished, if vpon occasion any begin to diuert from it.

matters, [yet] it be called back *q* here- *q* vnto these things. vnto. But howso-

6. That whatsoeuer *q* bee (for neither *q* shall be present. euer, the matters are vnto [all] delighted vwith the same things, nor at every season, nor alike.) [yet] we must also *q* consider how our speech may *q* bee seasoned with delight to giue *q* marke. confer to them that heere vs.

7. As we are to be careful to take a way a way to begin meet occasion for it, so let there bee the entrance into a *q* good manner *q* measurable mean our discourse; so for of the ending ther- or good fashion. the ending of it, so do it in the best manner. But because this is most rightly

q intoynd, in our *q* commaunded. whole life, that we

8. That as wee are intoynd to flie all flie [all] *q* passi- *q* perturbations. passions in our whole ons, that is to say, life, so more specially in our talke we all *q* vnmeasurable *q* ouer great things. are to beware of all moodes of minde,

T *q* not

¶ not obeying reason.

¶ not ruled by reason, moodie fits not ruled by reason, that there appeare not in any part of our speech either anger, either anger, or any countenances, lazinesse, or cowardlinesse, or lest any such thing appeare. And a

* greedie desire.
¶ slothfulnesse.

¶ we must care.

¶ That above all we bee careful that we may be thought both to reuerence and loue them with whom we talke.

¶ we confer speech.

¶ we talke. Also now & then, there fall out necessary chidings, when peraduenture

¶ happen or come by chance.

¶ we are to use

¶ greater stayning of voyce, and in sharper grauitie of words. ¶ We are

¶ That is also to be done.

¶ If it fall out that we are necessarily occasioned to hide any, and therein to rise more loudnes of voyce & more sharpnes in words; yet that we are to looke

to this, that we seem
not to doe it ireful-
ly or headily: but, as
the wise & discrete
Physitians who
come to searing &
cutting but verie
seldome and as it
were vnwillingly,
when no other
meanes will serue;
so we come likewise
to this kinde of re-
buking, & that ne-
uer but necessarily,
when no other re-
medy will be found.
Here he giueth also
four other cautions
for our rebuking of
others, that it may
be coply and pro-
fitable.

1. That it bee alto-
gether void of an-
ger, because in it no-
thing can bee done
well or aduisedly.
2. That it be done
in as milde a maner
as may be, yet tem-
pered with grauitie,
that a wholesome

that, that wee doe
not seeme to doe
those things q an-
grily: but as Phy-
sicians [doe come]
to searing & cut-
ting, so we come
seldome and [as it
were] vnwillingly

to a such kinde of
rebuking; q nor e-
uer but necessarily,
if no other remedy
will be found. But
yet q let it be alto-
gether void of an-
ger, with vvhich
nothing can bee
done well, nothing
q considerately.

q For the most
parte likewise q we
may vse a gentle
manner of rebu-
king, yet q tempe-
red with grauitie,
that both *leuenity

irefully: & doe
to purpose
doe what shal
doe as good
as aduise
q and not at any
time but vpon ne-
cessitie.

q let anger be farre
away.

q And for a great
part.

q it is lawfull to vse

q grauitie being
adioyned.

* austeritie be ad-
ded.

q grauitie being
adioyned.

* austeritie be ad-
ded.

q grauitie being
adioyned.

q reproachfull
speech bee repelled.
q same thing of
bitternesse which
chiding hath.

q vnderaken.
* sake.

q right.
* braules or quar-
rels.

q vnbesitting vs, vn-
fashionable.

* keepe.

q repell angriuesse.

* perturbation.

may bee shewed, seueritie may bee
and all q contu- shewed, & all contu-
mely auoided. And mely auoided.
also that q same bit- 3. If there seeme to
ternesse which is in be any bitternesse
chiding, must bee in it, that it be sig-
signified to haue nified that it was v-
beene q vfed for sed chiefly for his
his * cause who is good who was
chidden. chidden.

It is
q good also, even
in those * conten-
tions, which are
made with our
greatest enemies,
although we heare

[wordes] q vnfit to
bee spoken to vs;
yet to * retaine a
gravity, [and] to
q suppress the an-
gry moode.

For
those things which
are done with any
* passion, can nei-
ther be done con-
stantly, nor bee

4. Euen in those
contentions which
fall out to bee with
our enemies, how-
soeuer they giue vs
verie vnbesitting
speeches, that yet
we euer retaine gra-
uitie and suppress
our angry moode,
because we cannot
otherwise carry our
selues wisely there-
in, nor be approued

ap-

of them who are approued of them
 present. that are present.
 Lastly, hee giueth It is also * an vn- * a matter vobefit-
 this aduice, that in comly thing, [for ting or vnbelee-
 speaking of our a man] to report ming.
 owne matters, wee [great matters] of
 beware how we re- himfelfe, especial-
 port any great ly being false; and
 things of our felues to imitate the
 especially false, see- * glorious soldier,
 ming to imitate * glorious soldier, * Thrafo in Te-
 therein the glorious rene.
 souldier, with the q laughing at or
 scorning of the scorning.
 hearers, of the hearers.

Chap. 53.

What order is to
 bee kept q in buil- q in building vp
 dings. edifices.

Chap. 53.

Here T. desirous to
 pursue euery point
 wherein comelinesse
 may consist, com- q all things.
 eth to buildings, for q we will it in verie
 the order and de- deede.
 cencie to bee obser-
 ued in them.

And because
 wee pursue
 q euery point (q at
 least certainly we
 desire to doe it)
 wee must shew also
 what

q it pleaeth or it li-
keth vs, that the
house &c.

* occupying it.
q description.

q accommodated
or fitted.
q a diligent care is
to be added or vsed

q dignitie.
handsomnesse.

q it to haue bin, &c.

q who was made
the first Consull of
that familie.

q famous [or gor-
geous] and full of
dignitie.

q visited commonly

what a one q it be-
commeth the

house of an hono-
rable man and of

a Prince to bee :
the end whereof

is the * vse, where-
unto the q plot of

the building must
be q framed ; and

yet [withall] q there
must be a respect

be had of the
q statelinesse and

* commodiousnesse
of it. Wee haue

heard q that it was
an honorto *Kneius*

Octavius (q who
was the first Con-

sull of that family)
that he had buist a

q goodly and very
stately house in

the palace: Which
when it was q teen

of all the vulgar
sort

And first, for the
house of a Prince
or an honourable
man, he giveth this
precept. That al-
thogh for the frame
and forme of it, it
must be fitted espe-
cially according to
the end of it, which
is chiefly the vse
thereof : yet not-
withstanding that
there must be a due
respect had, to the
state and comlinesse
of it, meet for the
place and honour
of the owner.

This hee sheweth,
1. By the example
of *Kn. Octavius*,
the first that was
Consull of that fa-
milie : who by rea-
son of a goodly
house which he had
built in the palace,
yet such as was be-
fitting him, is re-
ported, not onely to
haue receiued much
honour, but also
through the con-

course of the vulgar
sorte to view it, and
of other beholders,
to haue bin aduan-
ced to the Consula-
ship: being other-
wise a man but new
ly come vp.

2. By another ex-
ample of Scarus
contrarie to this,
who building be-
yonde his estate ou-
erthrowe himselfe
therby. For howso-
euer hee was made
by Octavius the
first Consul of his
family for it, and
was a noble mans
son; yet he brought
into his enlarged
house together with
the Consulship, not
onely a repulse, but
also shame and mi-
serie in the end, whe-
hee was not able to
maintaine it.
And therefore hee
be giuerh two rules
to this purpose.

1. That a mans ho-
nour is to be set out

sorte [reforting thi-
ther] it was thought

q to further the
maister [of it] (be-
ing q a man newly
come up) unto the
Consulship. Scarus

q plucked this
downe, [and] en-
larged his owne
houses. * Therefore

* Octavius the first
brought the Con-
sulship into his
house: q this other

a noble and fa-
mous mans sonne;
brought into his
enlarged house,
not onely a repulse

but also q shame
and miserie. For

a mans honour is
to bee q set out by
his house, and not
his whole honour
sought * from his

house

q to glorie the voice
in election.

q a new man.

q having demoli-
shed or throwne
downe this, made
an access to his, &c.

* And so,
* the Emperour.

q this the sonne of
a chiefe and fa-
mous man.

q ignominy and ca-
lamity.

q adorned.

* by.

q honested or adored,

q honested or honored.

q other things.

* in a noble mans house.

q famous.

* intertained.

q multirude.

* all sorts.

q there is to be had a care of largenesse or widenesse.

q ample.

q is made.

house: Neither is by his house, and the Master to bee not to bee wholly sought from his house.

q graced by [his] house; but the house is to be q graced by the Master.

And as in all

q things else, a regarde is to be had not onely of a mans owne selfe, but also of others;

so * in the house of a q noble man, into which both many guests are to bee * receiued, and a q number of men of * every sort [is] to bee admitted,

q there must be made a provision for roomth.

Otherwise, a q large house oft times q prooueth a disgrace to the Master

q if

by his house, and not to bee wholly sought from his house.

2. That the maister is not to looke to be graced by his house, but his house by him.

A second precept for such buildings is this, That a man therein haue regard not only of himself, but also of others.

And therefore in great mens houses into which many strangers are to bee receiued, & a great number of all sorts to bee admitted, there must bee speciall provision for conuenient

roomes, so as it may bee large enough, and the owner able to maintain the port, that it mayeuer be wel filled; for that otherwise a large house may proue a disgrace

to the maister if it *q* if there bee in it *q* if it be but little,
 come to be solitary, solitarineſſe, and ef- frequented.
 ſpecially if it was pecially if at any
 ever well filled by a- time it was wont to
 nother maister. be *q* well filled by *q* much frequented.
 another matter.

For it is an odious
 This diſgrace bee thing, vvhhen it is
 exaggerates by the ſaide of *q* the paſ- *q* them that paſſe by
 odious ſpeeches of ſers by:
 the paſſers by, as
 might be truly veri- O ancient houſe,
 ſed of many in his alaiſe with how
 daies. *q* vnbeſitting a ma- *q* vnequall or vn-
 ſter art thou gouer- meete.

Al. q Which in- *Al. q* which ſame
 deed a man may thing it is lawfull
 [truly] ſay of ma- to ſay.
 ny *q* now a-daies, *q* in our times.
 You muſt take
 heed alſo, *q* name- *q* eſpecially if your
 ly if you builde, ſelfe build or bee a
 that you *goe not builder.
 beyond meaſure in *exceed not.

A third precept is,
 that in ſuch buil-
 dings a meaſure be
 kept for ſumptuous-
 neſſe and magnifi-
 cence.
q ſumptuousneſſe *q* coſt.
 & *magnificence: *gorgeouſneſſe or
 in the which kind, ſtatelineſſe,
 ther

* much hurt com-
meth euen by the
example.

* the most men do
imitate studiously
the deeds &c. of the
chiefe men.

q part.

q chiefe.

q magnificence [or
sumptuousnesse] of
his farme houses.

q Of which things
doubtlesse a meane
is to be vied.

q recalled.

* keeping a mean.

Al. q to euerie vse,
& handsonnesse or
conueniencie.

q But [we haue pro-
secured] these
things hitherto.

ther is q much euill
euen in the exam-
ple. For * very

many doe earnest-
ly imitate the do-
ings of Princes,
especially in this
q behalfe: as, Who

[doth imitate] the
vertue of *Lucius*
Lucul. a q singular
man? yet how ma-
ny haue imitated

the q statelinesse of
his mannour pla-
ces? q Whereof yet
in very deepe a
measure is to bee

kept, and to bee
q reduced vnto * a
mediocritie, and
that same medio-

critie to be referred
Al. q to the comon
vse and ornament
of life. q But of
these hitherto.

Chap.

Because thereby o-
therwise ariseth
much euill, euen by
the example. The
reason is: for that
verie many do ear-
nestly imitate the
workes of princes
chiefly, in this be-
halfe, although
they neuer regarde
their vertues.

This he instanceth
in L. *Lucullus* a sin-
gular man for ver-
tue: yet none imita-
ted him in that; but
verie many in the
sumptuousnesse of
his manour places.

And therefore hee
concludeth, that in
all these things a
measure is to bee
kept, and all to bee
reduced thereunto:
and finally that that
same mediocritie is
to be referred to the
common vse and
ornament of life.

Chap. 54.

Three things *q* to *q* are to be obserued
bee obserued in the
whole life.

Chap. 54.

In this chapter T. *q*
searcheth downe three
things to bee care-
fully obserued in a
mans whole life; as,
much tending to
the gracing thereof
and so of euerie par-
ticular action.

1. That appetite &
will euer obey rea-
son; then which he
teacheth that no-
thing can bee fitter
to preserve vs in the
way of vertue.

2. That wee confi-
der wisely of each
matter which wee
desire to bring to
passe; and so also of
a meet diligence for
the sure effecting
thereof, and neither
more nor lesse care

q **M**oreouer, *q* And.
in euery
action *q* we vnder-*q* to be vndertaken.
take, three things
are to bee *q* obser- *q* kept.
ued. First, that ap-
petite obey reason:
then which, no-
thing is more
* meet to preserve * fit to preserve
Duties. duties.

q Secondly, that *q* And then that it
wee consider how
be considered.

great the matter is,
which wee desire
q to bring to passe; *q* effect.

and that neither
* greater nor lesse * lesse.
care & * diligence * payne.
q be vsed then the *q* be vndertaken.
cause

Al. *q* that those things which appertaine to an honest shew be moderated by dignitie.

q dignity.

q not to proceede any further.

q appetite to obey.

cause requireth.

A third thing is, that wee take heede, *Al.* *q* that we moderate those things which appertaine to liberality, by an honest shew and *q* seemly grace. And the best meane is, to keepe that comelinesse, whereof we spake before; *q* & not to goe beyond it. Also the chiefe of these three is, *q* that appetite obey reason.

then the matter requireth.

3. That in things which chiefly appertaine to honesty, wee euer moderate all, by retaining a decent shewe and seemly grace according to our place & estate; and in all things euer to strue to keepe that comelinesse which hath bin taught; & and not to goe beyond it.

Finally, he concludeth, that yet of these three this is the chiefe, That appetite euer obey reason.

Chap.

Chap. 55.

*Comolinesse from
the place and time.*

Chap. 55.

Here T. about to
teach how comli-
nesse is to be kept in
regard both of
place & time, viz. in
observing the right
order of doing
things, and fittest
opportunities of
times, for the same,
sheweth,

1. That therein is
contained that
knowledge which
the Grecians call
ἐὐταξία, meaning
thereby not that
which the Latines
expounde modestly,
viz. moderation, in
which word *modus*,
to wit a meane, is
comprehended; but
ἐὐταξία, viz. dis-
cretion, or keeping
order.

2. He teacheth how

Now wee are
to speake

of the order of
things and oppor-
tunity of times:

and herein is con-
tained that

knowledge which the
Grecians call

ἐὐταξία; not this,
wh^{ch} we * interpret

* moderation, in
which wordes mo-

der [viz. a mean]
is comprehen-

ded. But this is
[that] *ἐὐταξία*, in

which is q meant a
keeping of order.

As therefore wee
call the same

q discretion

q furthermore wee
must speake.

q science or skill.

q name.

* expound.

q modestie.

q is m.

q vnderstood a
preservation.

q modestie or mo-
deration.

* moderation.

q a science.

q placing or disposing.

q owne.

q force or property.

q placing or disposition.

q a framing or ordering things.

* fit.

q Also they say, place to be of the action, opportunistic of the time.

* the seasonable [or fit] time of an action.

cretion is thus defined of the Stoicks: that * discretion is q the knowledge of q setting those things which shall bee done or said, in their q proper place. And so it seemeth there will be the same this is defined by the Stoicks, viz. That discretion is a science of setting those things, which are done or said, in their proper place and order. And so maketh it nothing but a facultie of ordering & disposing things aright. Because thus they define order also;

q power of order and q disposing things aright. For

thus also they define Order, to be

q a composing of things in apt and convenient places.

q And place they say belongeth vnto action, but opportunity vnto time.

Also q the time convenient for the doing of any thing

That it is a composing of things in apt and convenient places; And say that place belongeth to action, but opportunity to time.

3. For the time convenient for the doing of things, bee first sheweth it by the names; that it is

called in Greeke [is called] in
 ευκαιρία. in Latine *occasio* and then de-
 fineth it, that ευκαι-
 ρία is a knowledge
 of the opportuni-
 ties, or fit seasons
 to doe any thing,
 that this discretion,
 which wee inter-
 pret, as I have said,
 is a knowledge of
 the opportunity of
 fit seasons to doe
 any thing. *q* Yet

Also that prudence
 (spoken of before)
 may be defined af-
 ter the same maner.

there may be the
 same definition of
 prudence, whereof
 wee spake in the
 beginning. But

q in this place we
 dispute concerning
 moderation and
 temperance * and
 [other] vertues like
 vnto these.

To conclude this
 chapter, he sheweth
 that heere he spea-
 keth concerning
 discretion and tem-
 perance, and other
 vertues like vnto
 them, hauing spo-
 ken before of pru-
 dence and the pro-
 perties thereof, in
 the right place; and

* Therefore vwhat
 were the proper-
 ties of prudence
 haue been shewed
 in their place. But
 what

q it is called in La-
 tine *occasio*

q it commeth to
 passe.

q times to do a
 thing.

* But.

q we aske in this
 place.

* and other like
 vertues.

q of these.

* And so.

* spoken.

* properties.

g spoke a good while agoe.

g shamefastnesse.

g to the approbation of them.

what * things of these vertues, whereof wee have g begun to speake, do appertain to g discretion, and g to their liking with whom we liue, are now to be shewed.

Chap. 56.

g becommeth.

g becommeth not. q not.

* we are therefore to keepe such an order.

g vied. g that all things be fit and agreeable among themselves, as in a constant oration, so in the life, * fit.

What q is decent in every place and time, and vbat

* S Vch an order then of our actions is to bee g obserued, g that as in a well framed oration, so in [our] life all things bee * apt and agreeable

Chap. 56.

In this chapter T. being to shew what is decent in euerie action, time and place, teacheth, 1. That such an order is to bee kept in all our actions, that in our whole life, all the parts and euerie thing therein, bee apt both for place and time, & agree-

able amongst them
selues; like as in a
wel framed oration.
And secondly, that
of the contrary it is
dishonest and verie
faultie, to doe that
which is vnbecom-
ming in any action.
As for example: If
a man in a sage mat-
ter, should bring in
table talke, or any
wanton or idle
speech.

This he confirmeth
by a witty speech of
Pericles: who when
Sophocles the Po-
et was ioyned with
him in the pretor-
ship, and they two
were of a time co-
muning about mat-
ters of their office;
as by chance a faire
boy passed by, So-
phocles saide, Oh
faire boy! Pericles
reprehending him,
spake thus vnto him
again: But Sopho-
cles it becommeth
a Pretor to haue

ble amongst them-
selues. For it is
a dishonest thing
and very faulty, in

a *q* sage matter

q to bring in any
table talke, or wan-
ton speech. Well

spake *Pericles*,

when he had *So-*

phocles the Poet

q ioyned with him

in the Pretorship.

q and these two

were communing a-

bout their office;

q as by chance a

well fauoured boy

passed by, and *So-*

phocles had saide,

Oh faire boy! *Pe-*

ricles, [he] anse-

red: *q* But *Sopha-*

cles, it becommeth

a Pretor to haue

not onely *q* con-

v

tinent

q severe.

q to bring in any
speech meet for a
least, or delicate.

q his colleague or
fellow.

q and they had tal-
ked of the com-
mon Dutie.

q and a faire boy
passed by, by chace.

q But for,

q abstaining of
forbearing.

¶ And.

¶ in the approbation of wraſtlers, or where wraſtlers are allowed or tried.
¶ wanted.

¶ muſe.

¶ deuſe any matter more attentiuely.

¶ the ſame thing

¶ for the ignorance of the time.

tiuent hands, but not onely ſtayed eyes alſo. ¶ Now if *Sophocles* had ſpoken this ſame ¶ in a place of approbation of wraſtlers, hee had ¶ bene free from iuſt reproofe. So great force there is both of place and time, that if any man, when hee is to plead a cauſe do ¶ meditate with himſelfe in his iourney, or in his walking, or ¶ think of any other thing more ſeriously, he may not be reproued, but if hee doe ¶ the like at a feaſt he may be thought vnſuail, ¶ for hauing ¶ not onely ſtayed hands, but conti-
nent eyes alſo. Now concerning this ſpeech T. ſheweth, that if *Sophocles* had vſed it in ſome other place, as where maſteries are beholden or the like, he had bene free from any iuſt reproofe: whereas doing it in this place and at this time, hee was iuſtly reproofed, for that ther is ſuch great force of time and place herein.
3. Hee ſetteth it forth by another example illuſtrated by a comparison of contraries, thus: If any man when hee is to pleade a cauſe, doe meditate of it in his iourne or as he is walking, or doe then thinke more ſeriously of any other matter, he is not diſliked: whereas if he ſhould

doe the like at a
least, hee would bee
thought verie vnei-
uill, for hauing no
regarde of time or
place.

4. Hee teacheth,
whereas some dis-
orders are so grosse,
and so far disagree-
ing frō all ciuility,
as they neede not
greatly any admo-
nition or precept, as
to sing in the plea-
ding place of the
like; that wee are
therefore to shun
more carefully
those faults which
seeme to bee but
small, and cannot be
perceiued of enery
one but only of the
wise, for that they
are to iudge even of
the least disorder.
This he teacheth by
a fit similitude ta-
ken from musiciā;
who auoid the least
farrē in their instru-
ments, because the
verie least is easily

uing no regarde
to the time.

Howbeit those
things which farre
disagree from *q* all *q* humanitie.

ciuility (as if any
man sing in the
q market place, or if
there be any other
great *q* disorder) do

* easily appeare,
neither doe they
greatly neede ad-
monition or pre-
cepts; *q* But vwee

are more carefully
to shun those faults
which seeme to be
small, and cannot
be perceiued of

* many: as, *q* in
stringed or *q* winde
instruments, tho
they *q* farre neuer
so little, yet *q* it is
usually obserued

V 2

q humanitie.

q pleading place,
or in the street.

q peruersenesse.

* soone or plainly.

q but what faults
seeme to be small,
neither can be vn-
derstood of many,
we must decline
from these more
diligently.

* most.

q in instruments
with strings, as harp
or lute.

q pipes.

q differ, disagree or
be out of tune.

q it is wont to be
of marked.

* cunning.

q we must liue so in
[our] life, or to de-
meane our selues.
q least peraduenture
anything iarre.

q by how much a
consent [or con-
cord] of actions.
* tunes.

q the eares of musi-
cians.

q the least things.

* quicke.

* censurers or cor-
rectors of vices.

q looking or sted-
fast beholding or
fixing.

of a * skilfull obserued, of the
[man.] q We are skilfull: and so wee
so to carry our likewise are to de-
selues in our life, meane our selues in
q that nothing our whole life, that
chance to iarre; nothing chance to
yea and by much iarre therein. And
more also, q as an doe so much the ra-
harmony of deeds ther, as an harmony
is greater and bet- of deeds, is greater
ter then of * sounds. and better then a
And therefore as harmony of sounds.
q the Musicians Then, where as it
eares doe perceiue may bee said, But
even the least dis- how shall I come to
cords in instru- discerne of these lit-
ments: so wee (if tle faults; hee an-
wee will be sharpe swereth it by a fir-
and * diligent iud- similitude;
ges, and * markers That as the musici-
of faults) shall oft ans eares doe per-
vnderstand great ceiue even the least
things of small; discords, in instru-
Wee shall easily ments, by a diligent
iudge by the q set- obseruation and
ting cōparing of sounds;
shall be able to vn- so we, if we will bee
derstand even the diligent markers &
least. iudges of faults,
Secondly, he giueth

speciall direction
how we may iudge
by others: viz. by
observing the fix-
ing of their eyes,
the smooth looking
or bending of their
browes, their dum-
pishnesse, mirth,
laughing, speech, si-
lence, or ouer much
lifting vp or falling
of their voices, or
the like; so in them
to iudge what was
don fitly, what o-
therwise. And then
what we haue obser-
ued to bee vnde-
cent in others, to auoide
the same in our
selues.

ting of the eyes,
q by either the
smooth looking or
bending of the
browes, by sad-
nesse, mirth, laugh-
ter, speech, silence,
q straying and
falling of the voice,
and other like
things, * which of
them is fitly done,
which q swereth
from Duty and
Nature. In which
kinde it is not * in-
commodious to
iudge by others,
q of what sort each
of them is: that
if any thing bee
vnde- cent in others,
wee our selues also
may auoid it. For
it comes to passe,
q I wot not how,
that wee see more

q either by the re-
mission or contrac-
tion of the eye-
browes, by heauy-
nesse or dumpish-
nesse, by mirth, by
&c.

q contention and
submission.

* what is done.

q disagreeeth.

* amisse or incon-
uenient.

q what a one.

After, he giueth the
reason hereof.
Because it vially
commeth to passe,
that we see more in

q I know not by
what meanes.

¶ And so they are corrected most easily in learning.

¶ imitate for the cause of amending [them.]

¶ to adde learned men, or also those who are skilfull by practice, to chuse those things, which may bring doubt, and to search diligently concerning euerie kinde of duty, what liketh them

¶ is wont almost.

in others, then in our selues, if any thing bee done amisse. ¶ Therefore in learning, [those scholars] are very soone corrected, whose faults the masters doe counterfeit, to the end to amend them. Neither indeed is it amisse ¶ to vse the aduice of learned or experienced men, for the choosing of those things, vvhich may bee doubtfull, and to enquire what liketh them concerning every kinde of Duty. For the greater parte ¶ is vsually wont to be carried thither, whither it is led by others then in our selues if any thing be amisse, and so do better amend our faults thereby. This he confirmeth by an instance in scholars, who are the easiest corrected, by their masters counterfeiting their faults, to let them see the ill fauourednesse of them.

¶ Hee directeth what meanes are best, to know what is the fittest in euerie kinde of dutie, and so in all doubtfull matters; viz. To vse the aduice of learned or experienced men herein. Because the greater part of men is vsually caried whither

they are led by nature. In q very nature. In q nature it selfe.

Therefore wee are which things wee
not onely to consider are not onely to
der what euery one consider, what e-
speake, but what uery one speake,
he thinketh, & why but also what eu-
he thinketh so; w^{ch} ry one * thin- * iudgeth.
wise men can giue keth, and also * for * why each man
the best reason of, what cause each thinks so, or what
and so to vse them their reason is.
chiefly. man thinketh so.

For as painters, & q they who frame
q picturers, and al- signes or make pic-
to the true Poets tures.

q are desirous to haue their workes
seene of all sorts of feth his work to be
men, that if any considered of the
thing bee q found common people.
fault with by ma- q reprehended.

And that we are to seene of all sorts of
doe herein as pain- men, that if any
ters, pictureres and thing bee q found
Poets; who are not fault with by ma-
only desirous to haue ny, it may be cor-
their workes seene rected; and they
of all sorts, that if doe diligently * en- * examine.
any thing be gene- quire both vwith
rally or iustly dislik- themselues and o-
ked, it may bee a- thers, vwhat is
mended: but also done amisse in * missed or faulty
to this ende do dili- it: so very many therein.

gently inquire, what
is amisse in the
same. Euen so that
things are to bee

done and left vn- we are to doe, or
 done of vs. *q* ac- leaue vndone many
 cording to the things, according
 iudgement of o- to the iudgement
 thers, and also of others, and like-
 changed and *q* a- wise to change and
 mended. *q* As for to amend them.
 those things that
 are done *q* after
 the custome and
 ciuill *q* ordinances,
q there is no pre- we carefully obserue
 cept to bee giuen them; For that they
 of them: for they are precepts of the
 are precepts of selues, and so need
 themselves. Nei- not to haue any pre-
 ther ought any cepts giuen of
 man to be *q* caried them. And that we
 with this errour, are not by any pri-
 that if *Socrates* or uate mans ensam-
Aristippus haue ple, though neuer
 done or spoken a so wise or of the
 ny thing against greatest authoritie,
 against ciuill orders to be drawne to do
 and custome; no or speake any thing
 custome, he shold against ciuill orders
 thinke the same and customes; no
 thing to be lawfull not by the ensample
 for of *Socrates* or *Ari-
 stippus*. Because
 they might haue
 for

q by the iudgement

q corrected.
q but what things
 are done.

q by custome.

q institutions.
q nothing is to be
 giuen in precepts
 concerning them:
 for these verie
 things are precepts.

q led.

q the [vsual] manner
 and ciuill custome.

6. Hee giueth this rule: That in what things we haue customes & ciuill ordinances to follow, we carefully obserue them; For that they are precepts of the selues, and so need not to haue any precepts giuen of them. And that we are not by any priuate mans ensample, though neuer so wise or of the greatest authoritie, to be drawne to do or speake any thing against ciuill orders and customes; no not by the ensample of *Socrates* or *Aristippus*. Because they might haue

that liberty by their
great and diuine
gifts, which wee
cannot haue.

Yet here bee giueth
a caueat, That for
the fashion & guise
of the Cynicks, it is
wholly to bee reiect-
ed, as contrary to
all modestie, with-
out which nothing
can be right or ho-
nest. Lastly, he gi-
beth some fewe o-
ther particular di-
rections, concer-
ning this point, and
so concludeth: as,

1. That we ought
specially to obserue
and reuerence them
whose liues haue
bin thoroughly tri-
ed in honest and
great matters;
chiefly being found
louers of the com-
monweale, hauing
alreadie deserued
well of the same; &

for himselfe. For
they obtained this

* liberty by their
great and diuine
gifts. But the q fa-
shion of the Cy-
nicks is wholly to
be reiected. For it
is q contrarie to
modesty, vvithout
which * nothing
can be right, no-
thing honest.

q Moreouer, we
ought to * obserue
and to * reuerence
them, whose life
hath been thorow-
ly tryed in honest
and great matters,
[being men] q ha-
uing a good opi-
nion of the Com-
mon-wealth, and
hauing deserued or
deseruing well
[thereof,] [and]

* freedome of doi-
ing and speaking as
they thought best.
q whole reason [or
guise] of the Cy-
nicks is to be vtterly
cast out [or refused]
q an enemy to
shamefastnesse.
q there can be no-
thing right, nor any
thing honest.

q And.
* attend vpon or
marke.
* honour.

q thinking or mea-
ning well.

q ad-

q affected [or graced] with any honour or dignitie.

* to haue olde age in high estimation.

* [we ought also] to &c.

q haue a magistracie [or be in authoritie.]

q to haue a choice [or difference] of a citizen, &c.

q privately [or as a priuate person] or publikely [as a publike person.]

q To the sum [or summarily] that I may not deale of c. nery one.

q reconcilement and confociation

q aduanced to any honour or place of gouernment: &

* to giue much respect vnto olde age.

* To giue place to those which beare office;

q To make a difference betweene a citizen and a stranger; and also [to consider] in the very stranger, whether hee came

q of his owne priuate businesse, or about the Common-wealths affaires.

q In a word (that I may not intreate of euery

particular) we are bound to loue, maintaine and preserue the common

q agreement, and soci-

aduanced to any honour or place of gouernment.

2. That wee much respect olde age.

3. That we yeelde & submit our selues to them that are in office.

4. That wee put a difference betweene citizens and strangers; and yet in the very strangers to consider whether they came of their owne priuate businesse, or about the affaires of the commonweale: And in a word to looke carefully to this generall, as comprehending many particulars;

That each knowe himselfe bounde to loue, maintaine & preserue the common agreement & societic of all sorts

society of all man- of the whole kinde
kinde. of men.

Chap. 57.

Chap. 57.

What q trades, q arts.

and q what kinde q what gaires.

T. in this chapter still pursuing this of gaine are base:
point of comelinesse and honestie, com- what contrarily are q liberall, meet for
eth to speake of q honest. a free man [or an
trades and kinde of honest man.]
commodities; and

teacheth in the first place, what sorts of Now concer-
them are to bee ac- ning q trades q occupations and
counted liberall and and commodities, gaires [or maner of
honest, what base which are to bee gaining.]
according to the accounted q ho- q liberall.
common esteeme nest, which base,
of men. q thus commonly q we have receiued
wee haue heard; these things almost.

And first hee reck- First, those q kinde q gaires.

neth vp sundry of those kinde which of gaires are dis- q which run into
are disallowed as allowed q which the hate of all.

base and odious: are odious to all, as [the gaine] of
As, 1. The trades q tolefarmers, and q customers taking
and gaires of tole- q customers taking
farmers & vsurers. vsurers. tole of hauens.

q all who serue for hire or wages.

q whose labour and not their arts are bought.

q for the very hire in them.

q wages.

q obligation or presse-money.

q bondage.

q to be thought.

* of the baser sort.

q they sell straight way as by retayle.

q for they profit nothing.

q verie greatly.

q neither in truth is there any thing more filthie then vanitie.

q workemen or crafts-men.

q are employed in a base art [or trade]

vsurers. The gaines also of q all hirelings, q whose labour is bought & not their cunning, are seruile & base. 3. The gaines of all sorts of hirelings, whose labours are bought, & not their cunning. Because in them their hire is, as it were, the bond of their seruitude.

q For in them the very q hire is [as it were] the q bond of their q seruitude.

They moreouer, are q to be accounted * base, vvhobuy of marchants

that which q they presently retayle againe. q For these

gaine nought, vnlesse they lye q exceedingly. q And indeed there is nothing more dishonest then lying.

Also all kinde of q handicrafts men q serue in base occupations. Nei-

3. They who buy of the marchants such commodities, as they presently retaille againe.

For that these vsually gaine little or nothing, vnlesse they lie exceedingly: then which he sheweth that nothing is more dishonest.

4. He teacheth that all kinde of handicrafts men serue in base occupations;

ther

because that in ther in truth can
truth, the shop can- the * shoppe haue * workhouse.
not haue, in it, any in it q any thing q any ingenuous
thing befeeming an befeeming a gen- thing.
ingenuous or free
man.

5. Aboue all other, wise are those
he accouñteth those trades to bee ap-
trades most base, prooued which be
which are for ser- servers of plea-
uing the pleasures sures; [as] * fish- * Trinkermen.
of men: as of fish- mongers of great
mongers, butchers, fish, butchers,
cookes, pudding cookes, pudding-
makers & the like, makers, fishermen,
and more specially as, Terence spea-
perfumers, dancers, keth: add to these,
and all gaining by if q you * please, * it please you.
dicig and such vn- * perfumers, dan- * list.
lawfull games. cers, and all * play * makers of sweet
In the second place oyles, or perfumers.

hee sheweth what at dice. But in * players at playes q
arts are to bee ac- vvhath q sciences standing on hazard.
counted liberall and there is either grea- q arts.
honest.

As first, All arts & ter wisdome, or
sciences, wherein * no small gaine * great gaine.
there is either grea- is sought, as Phy-
ter wisdome requi- sicke, q casting q the art of buil-
red, or no small gain- sicke, q casting q the art of buil-
sought: as namely plots for buildings; plots for buildings, ding or carpentrie.
plots for buildings; the

q honest.

* for whose degree
they are conuenient

q thought.

q copious, well
fraught.

q conueying to vs.

q imparting it to
many without vane-
ty or vaine wordes.

* satisfied.

q deepe.

* change or be
changed into lands

the learning of and so all maner of
q worthy things, learning of honest
these are honest & worthie matters;
for them * to whose for that these are
estate they agree. comly for them, for
Marchandize also, whose state and de-
gree they are con-
uenient.

if it be small, is to
bee q accounted
base: but if it bee
great and q abun-
dant, q bringing
in from euery side
many commodi-
ties, & q dispersing
the same into ma-
ny mens hands,
without lying, it is
not much to bee
dispraised. And

furthermore, if it
beeing * satiate or
rather content with
gaine, as it hath
oft comne from
the q sea to the ha-
uen, so [it shall
betake] it selfe
from

2. Marchandize,
which howtoeu-
er being small, it is ac-
counted but base;
yet if it be great,
bringing in com-
modities from for-
raine countries, and
dispersing the same
into many mens
hands for the com-
mon good, so that
it be without lying,
is not much to bee
dispraised, but ra-
ther commended.

And e-
specially if the mar-
chant, being there-
by sufficiently in-
riched, shall content
himselfe and buy

lands & possessions from the hauen and possessions to
therewith, to settle *q* to lands and pos- settle thereon.
himselfe thereupon, sessions, it seemeth *q* into fields.
for the good of his
countrie.

* that it may bee * to deserue due
commended * by commendation.
very good right. * verie iustly.

q For of all things from which any *q* for nothing of
all things.

3. Of all things from which gaine is *q* sought, *q* gotten.

nothing is better

then *q* husbandry: *q* tillage of the
ground.

nothing *q* yeelding *q* more plentifull.

greater increase,

nothing more

q pleasant, nothing *q* sweet.

meeter for *q* a free *q* a free man.

borne man. * Co- * whereof.

cerning which, be-

cause wee *q* haue *q* spoken things
sufficiently spoken enow.

q in our book cal- *q* in Cato the elder
or the elder Cato.

led *Cato maior* [or
de senectute] from

thence you * shall * may fetch.

take *q* whatsoever *q* what things shall
appertaine to this

shall appertaine to place.

this place.

Chap.

But for this matter
of husbandrie, bee
referreth vs to
his booke *de sen-*
ectute, where he hath
written of the de-
light of it at large,
that from thence we
may learne whatso-
ever wee desire in
this behalfe.

Chap. 58.

Of two honest things, whether is the more honest.

q it seemeth expounded sufficiently.

q be drawne or proceede.

q are of honestie.

q But a contention of those very things which are honest, may oft fall out.

q whether of two honest things is the honestest.

q which place is pretermitted by Panetius.

q floweth or streameth.

But *q* I thinke it sufficiently declared, how duties should *q* bee deriued, from those parts which *q* belong to honestie.

q Yet of those same things which are honest, there may fall out oft times a question, and a comparison *q* of two honest things, whether is the honestest: which point is passed over of Panetius. For whereas all honestie *q* springeth out of foure *q* heads

Chap. 58.

T. hauing finished the first maine question concerning honestie, to wit, how Duty may be deriued from the foure chiefe fountaines thereof, and also whether the thing to be deliberated of be honest or dishonest; cometh now to the second question, arising from the comparing of honest things amongst themselves: viz. Of two honest things propounded whether is the more honest: which point hee sheweth as before, to haue bin omitted by Panetius.

Secondly, he giueth the reason heereof: That all honestie springeth from out of these foure foun-

tines, viz. Prudence, 9 heads, whereof 9 parts or founts.
 Justice, Fortitude, one is of know-
 Temperance; that ledge, another is
 in the making of 9 community, 9 common societie.
 choice of what du- the third of * mag- * valorousnesse or
 ties wee are to per- nimity, the couragiousnesse.
 forme, we use oft to fourth of * mode- * temperance.
 compare these a- ration; it is 9 of 9 necessarie that
 mong them selues. And first hee teach- these be compared
 eth, that those du- necessitie, that in chusing of Dutie, oft together in chu-
 ties are more agree- chuse these be oft cōpa- sing dutie.
 able to nature w^{ch} spring from our red amongst them-
 communitie with selues. 9 We think 9 It pleaseth there-
 others, viz. from therfore that those fore, those duties to
 Justice, then those Duties are more a- be more apt to na-
 which are fetched from prudence; and greeable to Nature, ture.
 so to bee preferred before them. which [are 9 bor- 9 drawne.
 This he confirmeth rowed] from 9 cō- 9 common societie.
 by sundry argumēts munity, then those
 from the necessitie which are 9 fetched 9 drawne or deri-
 of humane societie, ued.
 from which the du- from knowledge.
 ties of Justice doe And that may bee
 proceede. Which * confirmed by * proued.
 societie he sheweth this argument: be-
 to be so necessarie, cause, 9 if a wise 9 if that life shall
 That if a wise man man shall happen happen to a wise
 should happen on man. man.
 such a life, that hee on such a life, that
 he

q flowing plenty
or store.

* all manner of sub-
stance.

* aduice.

* viewe.

q knowledge.

q be so great.

q cannot.

* haue the sight of
a man.

q hee would depart
out of life, or wish
to die.

* tearme or name.

q *sapientia*.

q for we vnderstand
another certaine
prudence, which
the Greekes call
φρόνις, which is
the science, &c.

hee bee enriched
with q abundance
of * all things, al-
though hee con-
sider with himselfe
with the greatest
* leasure, and * be-
holde all things
which are worthy
q to bee knowne;
yet if his solitari-
nesse q should bee
so great, that hee
could not * see a
man, q hee would
wish to bee out of
this life. And that
wisdom which the
Greekes * call q *σο-
φία*, is the princeesse
of all vertues.

Secondly, frō that
wisdom which is
called in Greeke
σοφία, and in La-
tine *sapientia*, from
which these duties
of Iustice & com-
munitie are likewise
deriued:

This wisdom he
sheweth to bee the
princeesse of all ver-
tues, and distinct
from that which is
called in Latine *pro-
dentia*, & in Greeke
φρόνις, which

is defined thus, viz, ledge of things to
A knowledge of things, meet to bee desired, and earnestly desired,
desired or eschewed. [things] q meete q to be fled.
to bee eschewed.

Where as this wisdom But that wisdom
dome called *sapientia* (which I named
is the knowledge the princeesse) is the
of diuine and humane knowledge of science of bea-
humane things, where uenly and worldly
in is contained the diuine and hu things, or things
community of Gods belonging to Gods
and men, and their and men.
societie amongst the q community q common conuer-
themselves. sing or intercourse,
Whence hee reason or fellowship.

neeth thus: and their society
amongst themselves.

If that vertue of wisdom from which
these duties proceed be the greatest
and as it were the it is indeede) q it
princeesse of all vertues, that then these
duties flowing from must needs follow
it must needs be the that the Dutie
greatest also. And which is borrowed
from community,

that they doe proceede hence, hee
proueth further, for is the greatest also. q viewe [or consi-
that the contemplation and knowledge deration.]
of nature is mai- For knowledge and
ter a sort q may- q naturall things.
med [is in a certaine
lonely.]

q doing of things. med and imper- med and vnperfect,
 q doing is seene e- fect, if no q per- if no performance
 specially. formance of deeds followe
 q commodities of q performāce doth which performance
 men. especially appeare, he declareth to ap-
 * this communitie in defending appeare especially in
 of men. q mens commodi- defending and so appertaineth
 ties. It then apper- to the societie of
 taineth to * the so- man-kind; & ther-
 ciety of mankind; fore to bee prefer-
 and for that cause, red before meere
 is to bee preferred knowledge.
 before knowledge. Thirdly, he proueth
 q best man. And every q best it by the examples
 disposed man doth of the best disposed
 declare and shew men; who vse to
 the same thing, cast aside all duties
 q when it comes of getting know-
 vnto the point. For ledge, whatsoeuer,
 who is so q studi- that they may helpe
 ously set in q the their countrie in a-
 searching out and ny extreame perill.
 knowing the na- For example, he as-
 ture of things; that keth this question,
 if q tidings q shold who there is so stu-
 bee brought him diously set in fear-
 of ching out the nature
 of things, if tidings
 should be brought
 him of a suddaine,
 of

of some great imminent perill of his countrie, which hee might bee able to preuent; though he were contemplating matters most wor-
thie of all other to be knowne, which would not yett cast aside all those studies: yea although hee thought hee should bee able by his searching, to number the starres, and to measure the greatnesse of the world.

And moreouer, for that hee would not onely doe this for his countrie, but euen in the verie cause of the perill of his parents, or friendes. Whence hee concludeth evidently againe, that

of a sodaine, of the perill and hazarde of his countrey, which he might be able to succour and helpe; although hee were handling and contemplating matters most wor-
thy to be knowne, would hee not leaue and cast aside all these [studies;] yea although he thought that hee vvas able to number the stars, and to measure the greatnesse of the worldes?

And he would do the very same thing in the cause or perill of

[his] parents or friends. By which things we may

plainely gather, that

to him handling or treating vpon, and viewing matters most wor-
thie [his] knowledge.

q knowledge.

q cast away.

q those things.

q himself to be able.

q And the same man would do this thing

q parent.

q it is vnderstood.

X3 q that

¶ the duties of
iustice.

¶ more auncient.
¶ to be preferred or
put before.

¶ Also they them
selues.

¶ occupied or im-
ployed.

¶ yet haue not.

¶ gone backe or
departed.

* to make them the
better citizens, &c.

¶ that the duties of
iustice which apper-
taine to the profit
of men, then which
nothing ought to
bee ¶ dearer vnto
man, ¶ are to bee
preferred before
the studies and du-
ties of knowledge.

¶ They moreover,
whose studies and
whole life hath
beene ¶ spent in the
knowledge of
things, ¶ haue not
yet withdrawne
themselves from
increasing the pro-
fits and commodi-
ties of men. For
they also haue in-
structed many, * to
the end that they
might bee the bet-
ter citizens, and the
more profitable in
their

the duties of Iustice
appertaining to the
profit of mankind,
then which nothing
can bee dearer vnto
vs, are to be prefer-
red before duties of
knowledge,

Fourthly, hee fur-
ther demonstrateth
it by other generall
ensamples in this
kind. As,

First, in that they
whose studies and
whole life haue bin
spent in seeking
out the knowledge
of things, yet haue
not withdrawne
themselves from in-
deuouring to in-
crease the com-
modities of men.
As those who haue
instructed many, to
make them the bet-
ter citizens, & more
profitable to the

commonweales. their Common-

Of this sort hee gi- weales; as *Lyfias*
ueth fundrie enſam- * the *Pirhagorean*
ples: as,

1. Of *Lyfias* the [inſtructed] * the
Pirhagorean philo- *Thebane* * *Epami-*
ſopher, who inſtruc- *nondas*; *Plato*
ted *Epaminondas*
of *Thebes*. taught *Dion* * the

2. Of *Plato*, who *Syracuſian*, & *q*ma-
taught *Dion* the *ny* other haue
Syracuſian, and many done many moe.
other haue done the
like.

3. Hee ſheweth for benefit wee our-
himſelfe, that whar- ſelues haue broght
ſoeuer benefit hee vnto the Cōmon-
had brought to the wealth (if ſo bee
commonweale (if that wee haue
he had brought any brought anything)
at all) he had attain- wee haue *q* attained
ed vnto it by bee- vnto it, being in-
ing himſelf inſtruct- ſtructed by teach-
ed by teachers, and ers, and furniſhed
ſo furniſhed with with learning.

Secondly, in that *q* Neither doe they
ſuch doe not onely onely inſtruct and
inſtruct them that teach them that are
are deſirous of lear- deſirous of lear-
ning, whiſt they ning, while they
are

* a follower of *Pi-
thagoras*, or a *Pitha-
goreā* philoſopher.
* *Epaminondas* of
Thebes.

* *Siracuſa*.
q many [haue
taught] many.

q what ſoeuer thing

q come vnto it, in-
ſtructed and adorn-
ed by teachers
and learning.

q Neither onely
they living and pre-
ſent do inſtruct and
teach &c.

are alieue and present; but they attaine the very same thing also, even after their death by [their] monuments of learning. are alieue and present with them; but they also effect the same euen after their death much more effectually, by the monuments of their learning left behinde them.

q for neither.
q place.

q pretermitted or ouer-passed by them
q appertaine to the lawes, which [might appertain] to the maners, &c.
* gouernment.

* quiet studies for our businesse or commodity.

q do cōfer especially
Al. their prudence and vnderstanding.

q Neither is there any q point q omitted of them, which might q concerne the lawes, customs and * discipline of the Commonweale: so that they may seeme to haue imployed their * leasure vnto our affaires. Thus they themselves being giuen to the studies of learning & wisdom, q do chiefly bestowe Al. their wisdom, prudence and vnderstanding, to the com- Thirdly, in that they omit no point which might concerne the lawes, customs & discipline of the commonweale: so that they may seeme to haue imployed all their leasure for the benefit of posteritie. Thus hee sheweth, that they being giuen to the studies of learning, bestowed all their wisdom and vnderstanding for the good of the commonweale, and so did euer preferre duties belonging to the societic of men.

comodity of men.

Fourthly, he proo-
ueth it by this in-
stance, That for this
cause alone it is bet-
ter to speake copi-
ously, so it be wise-
ly, then to meditate
most wittily with-
out vtterance.
Because meditation
serueth only within
ones selfe, but elo-
quence serueth for
the good of all with
whom we conuerse,
and many others.
Fifthly, because wee
could not deuise
nor effect matters
sowel alone as with
others. This bee
proueth by a fit si-
militude taken from
Bees: That as they
swarme together,
not to the ende to
make combs, but
being thus swar-
ming by nature doe
make their combs
more easily; even so
and much more al-
so, men being of a

And for that cause
also, it is better to
* speake copiously
so that it be * wisely,
then to q meditate
euen most wittily
without vtterance;
q for that, medita-
tion serueth onely
within ones selfe,
but eloquence q ser-
ueth for the bene-
fit of all those, with
whom we be ioined
in q common soci-
ety. And as the
swarmes of Bees
q doe clustertoge-
ther not to this end
to make combs,
q but beeing swar-
ming by nature
they worke their
hony combs; So
& much more also,
men being * gathe-
red

* vtter the minde
plentifully.
* discreetly.
q to thinke [or con-
ceiue] most sharply
without eloquence.
q because cogitati-
on [or conceipt is
turned or imploy-
ed] onely in it selfe,
but eloquence.
q comprehendeth
those with whom
&c.
q communitive.

q are not gathered
together for the
cause of framing
hony combs.
q but whereas they
are congregable [or
soone assembled] a
by nature they fa-
shion [their] combs
* of an assembling.

or sociable nature,
do adde the cunning
of doing and
deuising.

¶ of defending.

¶ of the societie
of mankinde.

¶ touch or be ioy-
ned with.

¶ communitie and
neighbourhood.

* beaſtlineſſe.

* beaſtly.

¶ conſociation.

red by nature, doe
vſe their cunning
in doing and deu-
ſing. Therefore

vnleſſe that vertue
which conſiſteth

¶ in defending
men, that iſt oſay,

¶ in maintaining
the ſociety of man-

kinde, ¶ doe meete
with the knowlege

of things, it may
ſeeme a lone-wan-

dring and barren
knowledge. And

in like manner,
greatneſſe of cou-

rage, ſeparate from
humane ¶ ſociety

& friēdſhip, iſt a cer-
taine * ſauagenēſſe

and * vntractable
cruelty. So iſt com-

meth to paſſe, that
the ¶ accōpanying

together of men &
com-

ſociable nature, do
vſe their cunning in
doing and deuſing
much the better &
more ſpeedily.

Sixtly, in that know-
ledge ſeparate from
iuſtice or employ-
ment for the com-
mon good, remaineth
fruitleſſe and barren.
And ſolike-
wiſe fortitude or valour
ſeparate from humane
ſocietie & friēdſhip, viz if it
be not vſed for the
good of others, iſt
nothing elſe but ſa-
uagenēſſe & cruelty.
Whence he con-
cludeth, Duties ap-
pertaining to the
ſocietie of men to

bee far greater then common society,
the studies of know far surmounts the
ledge. study of know-

ledge. Neither is it

Lastly, he answereth true which is saide

an obiection of of q some, q that q certaine.

some, who affirmed, therefore this com- q therefore this.

that wee vse duties munity & society

appertaining to so- with men, q is for q to be for the ne-

cietie, for our owne the necessity of cessitie.

necessitie (for that life, because wee

wee could not ef- could not attaine

fect nor attain with nor effect without q bring to passe.

out others, those others, those things

things which na- w^{ch} nature might

ture might desire) & not for the good desire. For if so be

& not for the good that all things

of others. which appertaine

Wherevnto hee an- to the food & * fur- * ornament of life.

sweres; That if this to the food & * fur- * ornament of life,

were true, then if a nature of life, were

man had all things q ministred vnto vs q afforded or found.

necessary for liuing, as is were, by the

ministred (as it q grace of God, as q diuine rod.

were) by the q grace of God, as q diuine rod.

grace of God, with- they say; then every

out any labour or one q of a good wit, q of the best wit [or

helpe of others; if q of a good wit, q of the best wit [or

the same man were q omitting all other of an excellent wit.]

of a good wit, hee q all busineses o-

omitting all other q all busineses o-

businesse would busineses, would

q imploy

q place or bestowe. q imploy himse^l wholly imploy him-
 wholly in know- selfe in knowledge
 ledge and science. and science.
 But it is not so. For But he teacheth that
 he would both flyeuen such a man
 solitarinesse, and would still flie soli-
 seek a cōpanion of tarinesse, and seeke
 his study; & q wold some companion
 both teach and for his studies, and
 learne, also heare would desire still
 and speake. both to teach and
 [And] therefore e- And therefore vp-
 uery dutie which on all these grounds
 appertaineth q to he concludeth this
 the maintenance of point, That euerie
 the neighborhood dutie which apper-
 & society of men, taineth to the main-
 is to be preferred tenance of humane
 before that duty societic, is to be pre-
 which q consisteth ferred before such
 in knowledge and as consist in know-
 science. ledge and science.

q he would.

q to maintaine the
conjunction, &c.

q is contained.

Chap. 59.

Chap. 59.

Heere T. proceedeth to speak of the cōparing of duties; and first, somewhat in comparing the duties of Iustice & Temperance, sheweth that this question may chance bee propounded;

Whether duties of societie be euer to be preferred before others of moderation & temperance. Whereunto he answereth, that hee thinketh not so; and giueth his reason, for that there are some things partly so dishonest partly so hainous, that a wise man would not doe them, no not for the preserving of his countrie. Of this sort hee sayth, that Possidonius hath gathered many: certaine whereof are so odious that they are shame-

*Whether Iustice or
Tēperance be better.*

This question *q* That preadventure may be asked

may peradventure be well asked, whether this community which is

q most agreeable *q* especially apt.

to nature, be also euer to be preferred before moderation

and *q* temperance? *q* modestie.

q I thinke not so. *q* It pleaseth not.

For there are *q* some *q* certaine things.

things partly so *q* dishonest, partly *q* filthy.

so dishonest partly so haynous, that a wise man wold not doe them, no not

q for the preserving *q* for the cause of
of his country. *Pos-* preserving of, &c.

sid. hath gathered

many of them together; but *certain

of them so *q* vile [&] ** some.*

so filthy, that they *q* soule.

¶ filthie or dishonest.

¶ Not any man therefore shall undertake these things for the cause of the commonweale.

¶ them to be undertaken.

* sake.

¶ bath it selfe more commodiously.

¶ a time cannot happen.

* benefit or further

¶ such kinde of Duties to excell especially, which is kept in the societie of men.

¶ considerate dealing.

may seme ¶ shamefull even to be spoken. ¶ These things therefore ought no man to undertake for the cause of the Commonweale, neither indeed would the Commonweale have them undertaken for her * cause.

But this matter ¶ stands so much in better case, for that there ¶ can befall no time, that it should * concerne the Commonweal, for a wise man to do any of them. Wherefore let this be concluded in chusing of Duties, ¶ that such kind of Duties excel most, which concerne the societie of men. For ¶ wise performance will fol-

low to be uttered.

Now, these he teacheth that a wise man ought not to undertake, no not for the cause of the commonweale, neither that indeede the commonweale would haue them undertaken for her cause. But for these he sheweth that ther cannot befall any time wherein it can concerne the good of the commonweal for a wise man to doe any of the. And therefore, notwithstanding all these, he concludeth this point concerning the chousing of duties;

That evermore such duties be preferred which concerne the good of others; And that wise performance of our actions will

ever follow know- low knowledge &
 ledge & prudence. So it
 Whereupon it com- prudence. So it
 meth to passe, that commeth to passe,
 considerately to per that *q* to performe *q* to doe advisedly
 forme our actions [our] actions con-
 siderately, is * of * better.
 siderately, is * of * better.
 more [worth] then
q wisely to meditate. *q* to deuise or think
q And thereof thus of, or ponder wisely
 farre. For *q* this *q* And indeed let
 point is sufficiently these things [suf-
 layd open, that it is fice] hitherto.
 not *q* difficult in *q* the place it selfe
 the searching out is set open.
 of Duty, to * see *q* a difficult thing.
q what euery one perceiue.
 is to preferre. *q* what is to be pre-
 ferred of euery one
 Moreouer, in *q* that or what [duty] is to
 be preferred before
 very comon socie- euery other.
 ty, there be degrees *q* that the commu-
 of Duties, * of wth nitie it selfe.
 it may bee vnder- * whereby it may
 stood what excel- may be knowne
 leth euery other: what one is about
 the other.
 * that the first [Du- * so as.
 ties] be due] to the
 immortall Gods, * next.
 the * second, to

q furthermore the
rest are due to o-
thers by degrees.

Al. some.

q to the rest.

q disputed briefly,
or handled shortly.

q men to be wont.

q to doubt that
thing.

q two honest things
being, &c.

q set before them.

q more honest.

q [common] place.

q omitted of &c.

q goe forward to
those things which
remain.

* the residue of
duties.

[our] country, the
third to [our] pa-
rents, q & so forth
by degrees, Al. the
rest are due q to o-
thers. Of which
things q thus brief-
ly discoursed of, it

may bee vnder-
stood, q how men
are wont not onely
q to doubt, whe-
ther a thing be ho-
nest or dishonest,
but also q of two
honest things q pro-
pounded, whether
is the q honestest.
This q point (as I
said before) is q o-
uerslipped by Pa-
netius. But now let
vs q proceed to* the
rest.

As first those which
are due to God;
next, such as are due
to our countrie;
thirdly, those to our
parents, and so the
rest according to
degrees as they are
due to others in or-
der.

And thus finally he
sheweth, that wee
may easily vnder-
stand by the things
handled before,
both these questi-
ons, whereof men
are wont to doubt,
viz. first, whether a
thing be honest or
dishonest. Second-
ly, of two honest
things propounded,
whether is the ho-
nestest; which was
ouerslipped by Pa-
netius. And so pre-
pareth himselfe to
proceede to that
which followeth.

Finis.

e
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e
e
-
s
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n
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o
at
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